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SUMMER 1951

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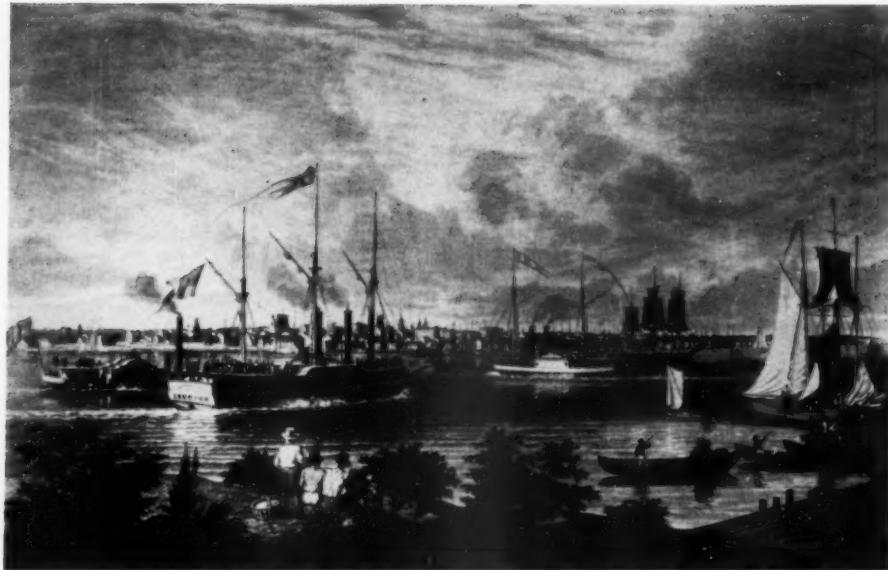
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The ART Quarterly

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*Fig. 1. EDOUARD MANET, *The Kearsarge and Alabama*
Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Art Collection*

MANET AND HISTORY

By JOSEPH C. SLOANE

IN the course of his recollections of the life of Manet, Antonin Proust remarks that the appellation of "history painter" was the worst insult his friend could apply to another artist.¹ The painter's feelings on the subject were so strong as to have become almost legendary, a fact which gives a special significance to the instances in which he attempted the form himself, for in his early years he produced several pictures of Christ which certainly fall within this category (Fig. 2), and he also tried his hand at subjects drawn from important events of contemporary history. The number of these is understandably small, but they cast some light upon his interests and capacities as a painter as well as on the course of modern art in general, of which he may be said to have been the first eminent master.²

Considered from the point of view of most of Manet's biographers, these pictures take a natural place in his own stylistic development and that of the *avant-garde* generally, but if they are examined as examples of *la peinture d'histoire* they are less easily accommodated, and subject matter must be the primary concern. Modern criticism has not been greatly interested in this side of nineteenth century painting, but a hundred years ago it was far more important, for the classification of works of art as "great" or not was based upon it.

The nineteenth century witnessed a very marked change in attitude in regard to painting of this kind. What is often referred to as "literary" art was dominant in 1820, but sixty years later it had virtually disappeared from the work of the leading painters and was chiefly practiced by academic hacks. To put the matter a little differently, at the beginning of the century artists and critics alike (including many of the best of each group) believed that subject matter was important, that art had a moral purpose, and that it was proper for it to convey whole concepts of a describable and dramatic nature. Three generations later the better pictures were not, in the traditional sense, *about* anything.

The traditional themes of history painting had been made explicit in the literature of antiquity (including its Renaissance descendants) or else in the various Christian epics, but both of these sources lacked interest for the man of the nineteenth century, even though he might still be genuinely concerned with spiritual matters.³ By Manet's time the influence and emotional power of such art had been declining for more than two hundred years. Yet Manet, the leading revolutionary of the sixties, was not quite able to resist the fascination

which great events exert on the emotions of those exposed to them. Three times he produced pictures which dealt directly with modern history. The first of these was the engagement off the harbor of Cherbourg between the Confederate raider Alabama and the Union ship Kearsarge (Fig. 1), the second was the execution of the unfortunate Emperor Maximilian of Mexico (Fig. 6), and the third was the sequence of events in Paris at the time of the Franco-Prussian War and Commune (Figs. 10 and 13). In each of these, forces and movements of great importance were operative, and in each there was an enormous charge of human drama and emotion. They were, in short, the raw material out of which contemporary history painting had formerly been created, as in the case of Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* (Fig. 3) and Delacroix' *Liberty Guiding the People* (Fig. 4). Manet's treatment of them is instructive.

He was at Boulogne in the summer of 1864 when the battle took place between the Kearsarge and the Alabama. Proust says that he was temporarily in Cherbourg and saw it,⁴ but the weight of evidence is against this assertion, especially since the Alabama is not correctly rigged in the picture and Manet as a former naval cadet would have been unlikely to make such a mistake unless he had been relying on second-hand evidence for the appearance of a vessel already sunk.⁵ At all events, he is reported to have been so excited by the event that he quickly gathered what information he could and set to work upon a sizeable painting of it. It would seem, therefore, that he honestly intended to paint a history picture.

The result of his efforts, however, may best be described as an attractive seascape in which a sinking ship is included. Two-thirds of the canvas are occupied by open water across which a small sailboat is moving, piloted by a man in shirt sleeves and a top hat, while the survivor clinging to a spar in the middle distance is scarcely identifiable as such. In the center of the background is the sinking Alabama, beyond which, obscured by smoke, a little of the hull of the Kearsarge can be seen. To the right is the English yacht which stood by to pick up men left swimming in the water. Looking at the scene, the observer needs to remind himself that he is looking at the terrible destruction of war and not a pleasant afternoon afloat, for there is hardly a trace of the feeling of a bitterly fought naval engagement. Later when the Kearsarge came to Boulogne, Manet painted her lying peacefully at anchor, using almost exactly the same design, merely transferring the sailboat from one side of the picture to the other (Fig. 5). The over-all effect of the two pictures is so similar that it

is easy to overlook the fact that one has a meaning which the other lacks. As a painting, the *Kearsarge and Alabama* (Fig. 1) has great merit; as a depiction of history it is negligible.

The problems posed by the *Execution of Maximilian* (Fig. 6) are more complicated, and although it has been carefully analyzed by a number of critics, it still remains something of a mystery. Most of the discussion has centered upon Manet's brilliant handling of the design, whose development can be traced through several versions, but the matter of the subject *as such* has received far less attention.⁶ As in the case of the *Kearsarge and Alabama*, it is probable that the news of what had happened aroused him to a point where he felt strongly impelled to paint the subject, the more so perhaps because he was no admirer of Napoleon. But just as in the former instance, the end result was a painting which, although a delight to the eye, is most confusing as to history and undramatic as to meaning. Jedlicka's assertion that it is a "rousing manifesto, a passionate painted pamphlet" can hardly be an exact description of the appearance of the picture, whatever accuracy it may have in regard to the artist's intentions.⁷

The story of Maximilian was certainly as tragic and moving as any similar incident in all history.⁸ An unwilling monarch of an unfriendly land, placed in an impossible position through the imperial designs of a country to which he was himself a stranger, too proud to seek safety when collapse was imminent, he was finally left defenseless before his enemies when Napoleon withdrew the support of his French army. His death ended an ill-fated and disastrous attempt to expand French influence in the Western hemisphere, an attempt which not only embarrassed the imperial government but undoubtedly contributed to its final destruction in 1870.⁹ In 1867 there were many men unsympathetic to the policies of Napoleon, and the personal dignity and courage with which Maximilian faced his misfortunes, combined with the harrowing fate of his beautiful wife, made a deep impression on the popular mind. To refer to this matter at all in sympathetic terms was, therefore, to take a stand with the opposition. Manet's idea was automatically possessed of political overtones from the very beginning.

He intended to exhibit the earliest version of it (Fig. 7) in his one-man show at the Pont de l'Alma in 1867, a plan which was never carried out since word of the picture had leaked out and the government promptly forbade him to show it. If it is recalled that Manet hoped to recoup his fortunes by this show, to win public support for his work, it seems strange that he should have

been willing to jeopardize his chances by including a picture of a politically inflammatory nature. Had the exhibition opened with the finished picture—or even the extant sketch for it—he must have known that either it would be removed at once or else the whole project would be closed down, which latter would have been, under the circumstances, a high price to pay for a slap at the government. His "warfare" was with the jury system, not the national foreign policy.¹⁰

This first state of his design was never finished, but the main elements in it are clear and remained virtually the same through all the subsequent versions: the firing squad at the right with the man preparing his gun for the coup de grâce, and at the left the Emperor with his generals Miramon and Mejia partly obscured by the smoke of the volley. The reason for its incompleteness is not too certain but it may be, as Jedlicka suggests, that he needed actual models to go by and was unable to find any who could pose in what he conceived to be the proper historical costume. It must have been after this that he came into possession of an actual photograph of the firing squad along with others of the place of execution and General Miramon.¹¹ It was true, in any event, that he customarily painted only from life, so that he may well have felt at a loss when forced to rely on his imagination for this first sketch, and in the later pictures even the photograph may have been inadequate, the more so since the Mexicans were there shown in full face whereas he wished to paint them from the back. The final version, to be discussed presently, was done with real soldiers posing in his studio, an arrangement which he apparently found satisfactory for his purposes.¹²

When nineteenth century painters dealt with contemporary subjects of this kind they usually did so in one of two ways. The first was to include, along with the actual characters, a personification such as Liberty or Freedom to give a certain epic quality to the implied meaning, an arrangement successfully employed by Delacroix and later by Thomas Couture in his unfinished *Departure of the Volunteers in 1792* (Fig. 8). The second method was to let the scene speak for itself without actual symbolic reference, albeit with great attention to dramatic impact, focal design, and lighting effects. Géricault had painted the century's masterpiece of this type but innumerable lesser pictures which attempted similar effects were shown annually in the Salons.¹³ This, apparently, was the kind of picture which Manet set out to paint, and mention is often made of the pains to which he went in an effort to get the details correct by reading the published accounts of what happened. The proximity of the



Fig. 2. EDOUARD MANET, *The Dead Christ and Angels*
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 3. THÉODORE GÉRICAULT, *The Raft of the Medusa*
Paris, Louvre

Fig. 4. EUGÈNE DELACROIX
Liberty Guiding the People
Paris, Louvre

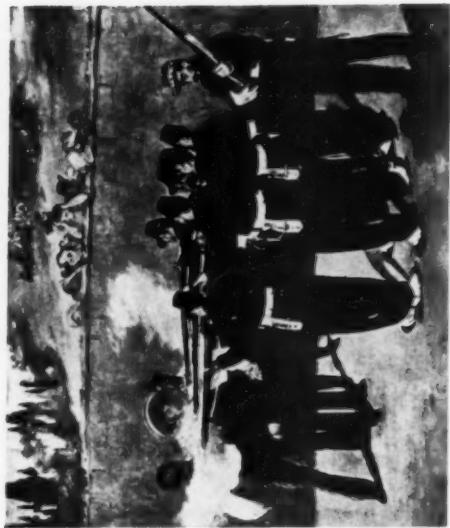


Fig. 6. EDOUARD MANET, *The Execution of
Emperor Maximilian*
Mannheim, Kunsthalle



Fig. 7. EDOUARD MANET
*The Execution of
Emperor Maximilian*
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts



Fig. 5. EDOUARD MANET, *The Kearsarge at Anchor at Boulogne*
New York, Adeline H. Hentzey Ferlinghuisen Collection

victims to the guns of the firing squad is cited as an example of his care in this regard.¹⁴

But if he really did find out exactly what occurred, he paid very little attention to the results of his research, for the discrepancies between the facts and the final version are both numerous and important from an historical point of view. From eye-witness accounts it appears that the Emperor died bare-headed; that he gave the central place of honor to Miramon; that there was a separate squad for each victim; that Maximilian was shot first; and so on.¹⁵ Accuracy in the staging of the scene was obviously not an important part of the plan. Traditionally, the observer's attention would have been focussed on the principal figures involved, but here they are set in a position of relative unimportance, their bodies partly veiled in smoke, and their faces only summarily sketched in, that of Maximilian being the blankest of all. Of dramatic mood or feeling there is virtually none—only the barest essentials necessary to indicate what is happening. The straining head, clenched fist and taut pose of Mejia at the left and the hand clasp between the Emperor and Miramon are the only suggestions included which indicate that this is a terrible act performed by men against their fellows.¹⁶ Against the calm objectivity which marks the rest of the picture, they seem out of place rather than natural.

Having reduced the principal actors to insignificance, the artist proceeds to make the soldiers the focal point of his design. So skillfully have they been handled, so adroitly are they placed, that one hardly stops to wonder just who they are beyond the obvious fact of their function in the execution. Most writers simply remark that the models were French soldiers, Tabarant even telling us that they came from the nearby Pépinière barracks under orders from a certain commandant Lejosne.¹⁷ If they merely served as models for *any* troops, that is if they were generalized so as to stand for men in any army, even the irregulars of Juarez, there is no need to say anything more about them; but if they are represented as unmistakably French *in the picture*, they assume a certain new significance which the obviously "Spanish" figures of the first version did not have. In the latter case, Maximilian is being executed by Napoleon's own army, making the painting a very direct and bitter comment on the whole affair, whether that really was Manet's intention or not. Of their identity there can be little doubt, even though they bear a certain resemblance to the slovenly troops in the photograph, for they are, with certain minor differences, uniformed as men from a regiment of the *chasseurs à pied*, a type of light infantry established in 1840, wearing undress uniforms. The color of

the jackets and trousers, the belts, swords, hats, gaiters, guns, and cartridge boxes all agree with the published descriptions of this particular uniform which was unique in the French army of the day.¹⁸

As it stands, therefore, the picture could hardly have been more pointedly anti-Napoleonic. If it was meant to be so, we must stand in awe of the painter's audacity, for even Daumier had not dared to be so savage with Louis-Philippe. But Manet was not politically pugnacious, and though he probably didn't like the Emperor, he seems to have paid very little attention to public affairs.¹⁹ It is true, of course, that the paintings of the second type never left his studio, but he tried to have a lithographic copy printed (Fig. 9), and that too was forbidden. From a note in a letter to Duret one gets the impression that he either did not intend the picture to have political significance, or else that he was concealing his real purpose. The statement was designed for publicity and thus refers to the artist in the third person:

Nous apprenons qu'on a refusé à M. Manet l'autorisation de faire imprimer une lithographie qu'il vient de faire, représentant l'exécution de Maximilien; nous nous étonnons de cet acte de l'autorité frappant d'interdiction une œuvre absolument artistique.²⁰

If by "absolument" he meant that the print was only a work of art and nothing more, he must have been naïve indeed to expect the government to see it that way; if it was something more, he should not have been surprised that its publication was prohibited.

There is another hypothesis which seems to make more sense out of this confused situation. If the painter was capable of reducing the battle at Cherbourg to what was, essentially, a pleasant seascape; that is, if he saw in it only a pictorial problem, it is possible that once begun on the Maximilian picture he became entirely absorbed in it as a design, as a work of art pure and simple, and thus paid no further attention to the historical meaning of the event itself. His friends often remarked on his unreflective, almost instinctive, manner of painting which apparently made it impossible for him to understand why others didn't see things as he did.²¹ His great strength lay in the completeness with which he was faithful to his own artistic gifts and personal sensitivity, a quality which enabled him to maintain his individuality in the face of very severe abuse and criticism. But he was so intensely devoted to his own vision that he was incapable of projecting himself imaginatively into such scenes as were required of a history painter. S. L. Faison has recently shown that this self-preoccupation was strong enough to cause his famous picture of Zola to

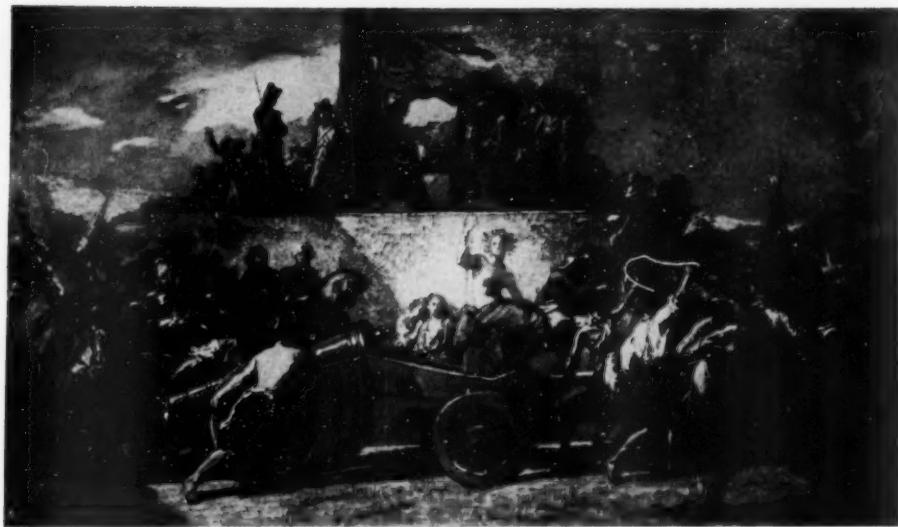


Fig. 8. THOMAS COUTURE, *The Departure of the Volunteers in 1792*
Springfield Museum of Fine Arts

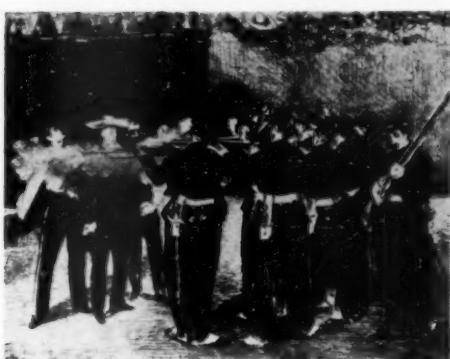


Fig. 9. EDOUARD MANET
*The Execution of
Emperor Maximilian*
(lithograph)



Fig. 10. EDOUARD MANET
Civil War (lithograph)



Fig. 11. EDOUARD MANET, *The Dead Toreador*
Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection

emerge as a self-portrait (Fig. 12).²² What is at issue is an artistic personality so dominating that it transforms any subject to which it is applied into a reflection of its own interests, thus preventing an imaginative treatment of a moment in history in terms of the event itself. Manet, in other words, could not be a history painter even when he apparently wanted to.

During the turbulent months following the collapse of the Second Empire he was in the National Guard, very possibly witnessing scenes similar to those which he set down in a small group of sketches and lithographs which date from 1871.²³ Duret says positively that he took part in the street fighting and refers to *Civil War* (Fig. 10) as an "epitome of the horror of this struggle and its subsequent suppression."²⁴ Guérin and Moreau-Nélaton both say that he sketched the dead body on the spot and that from this drawing the plate was made.²⁵ If this was indeed the case, it is further striking evidence of the artist's inability to look at even the most moving scenes in any terms other than those of his own personal mental images, for the pose of the soldier is identical to that of the *Dead Torero* (Fig. 11).²⁶ In *The Barricade* (Fig. 13), done at the same time, the scene is laid in the streets of Paris but the figures are those of the *Execution of Maximilian*. It is difficult to escape the conclusion from such evidence that Manet did indeed see everything, including moments of terror and death, with an eye that was his alone.

In the development of modern art, the history picture as such was to play no part. The lifeless academic handling of subjects of this sort by a Bouguereau was rightly condemned at the time and since, but the matter cannot be so easily dismissed, since in previous periods the same form was handled with power and skill by the finest talents. If, as seems very likely, Manet was the best painter living in 1867, then it is important to discover that such a man, at such a time, was unable to paint a picture like the great one by Géricault mentioned previously.²⁷ The history of the past may have been uninteresting to this new generation, but Manet had evidence in his own life that modern times were not lacking in exciting and dramatic moments, and yet his talents were unsuited for making anything really moving out of them. The same was evidently true of Monet, Renoir, Sisley, and the others for they stayed away from the form altogether, and even Degas, who made several earnest attempts at it, gave up because it was not for him.²⁸ These few pictures by Manet illustrate, as clearly as anything can, the great gap which divided traditional thought about the subject matter of art from that of the progressive movement of the last ninety years.

¹ A. Proust, "Edouard Manet, souvenirs," *Revue Blanche*, XII (1897), 132.

² The relations of history painting to the beginnings of modern French painting will be discussed in greater detail in the author's forthcoming book on the art of the years from 1848 to 1870. Some of the material in the present article is taken from this book.

³ This was true in spite of the apparent popularity of religious and classical paintings by the better-known academicians. Much of this enthusiasm can be put down to habit and the advice of the poorer critics. The meanings of such subjects had to be explained in the official catalogues.

⁴ The matter is not clear but Proust said Manet had mentioned being there. A letter from the artist to Philippe Burty, however, implies that his first view of the Kearsarge was at Boulogne. Cf. Tabarant, *Manet et ses œuvres*, Paris, 1947, pp. 88-89, and the following note.

⁵ He had spent six months on the school ship, *Havre et Guadeloupe*, in 1848-49. The Alabama is shown with her funnel between the mainmast and the mizzenmast whereas it should have been between the foremast and the mainmast. For details of the appearance of this ship and others of the same class see F. J. Reynolds, *The United States Navy from the Revolution to Date*, New York, 1918, pp. 43, 52, 53, 55. A similar mistake appears to be made on the Kearsarge, though it is hard to tell due to the interference of the smoke. The stack on the latter is correctly placed in the picture done at Boulogne (Fig. 5).

⁶ The outstanding exception to this remark is to be found in Kurt Martin's exhaustive study of the picture: *Edouard Manet, Die Erschießung Kaiser Maximilians von Mexico*, Berlin, 1948 (*Der Kunstsbrief* series). This interesting little volume contains not only an elaborate analysis of all aspects of the picture but also an unusual collection of illustrations, including other pictures of the event and a photograph of a Mexican execution (dated 1913) which is strikingly similar to Manet's first version of the subject. Martin and the author of this article are in agreement on a number of points, particularly the fact that the painting illustrates a striking change in history painting as an art form. However, the conclusions drawn from the evidence are very different. One example of this divergence is to be found in Martin's assertion that Manet's novel pictorial handling intensifies the "inneren Wahrheit des Lebens" (p. 18). The reader interested in the picture is advised to consult this account as well as the one given here.

⁷ Gotthard Jedlicka, *Edouard Manet*, Zürich, 1941, p. 150.

⁸ For the historical background see Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France contemporaine*, Paris, 1921, VII, 188-196; or E. Reginald Enoch, *Mexico*, London, 1909, the chapter on the whole episode. It is a somewhat peculiar coincidence that Maximilian himself was quite an authority on art. See P. Dax, "Maximilian critique d'art," *L'Artiste*, 9e Série, IX, 357-381.

⁹ Cf. Lavisse, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

¹⁰ See Manet's statement which introduced his work at the show at Pont de l'Alma in 1867: "... the repeated rejection of his work by the jury convinced him that, if the first phase of an artist's career is inevitably a kind of warfare, it is at least necessary to fight on equal terms." (Here quoted from Th. Duret, *Manet and the French Impressionists*, Phila., 1910, p. 39.)

¹¹ Jedlicka, *op. cit.*, p. 145. For the photographs see Max Liebermann, "Ein Beitrag zur Arbeitsweise Manets," *Kunst und Künstler*, Jahrg. VIII (1910), 483 ff. The face of Miramon in the painting must have been done from the photograph of him reproduced in this article. It is possible that it was the receipt of these pictures which helped him to decide to do a different version of the whole scene.

¹² The final picture is the one in Mannheim and will be used in the present discussion. The other versions in London and Copenhagen do not differ greatly in any essential elements as far as the story of the event is concerned.

¹³ From 1863 on the Salons were annual during the sixties.

¹⁴ Jedlicka, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

¹⁵ See the details given in Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-22.

¹⁶ There is some variation in this latter detail. The first sketch (Boston) does not show the hands at all. In the Copenhagen version and the lithograph, Maximilian holds both generals by the hand but in the final picture at Mannheim only Miramon.

¹⁷ Tabarant, *op. cit.*, p. 141. Lejeune was apparently a friend of Baudelaire's and may have been responsible for getting the permission to have the soldiers pose.

¹⁸ See C. Lienhart and R. Humbert, *Les Uniformes de l'armée française depuis 1690 jusqu'à nos jours*, Leipzig, 1900 (5 vols.), vol. III, pls. 44, 45, 48, 54, 55; and also Ed. Detaille, *Types et uniformes. L'Armée française* (Texte par Jules Richard), Paris, 1885 (2 vols.), vol. I, pl. facing p. 58. The pictures in Lienhart and Humbert are mainly small details scattered over many plates and thus cannot be conveniently reproduced here. It is interesting to speculate as to whether or not the uniforms actually worn by the firing squad may have been captured from the French. In the photograph they appear so ill-fitting that this seems at least possible.

¹⁹ Martin (*op. cit.*, pp. 9-10) agrees with this view.

²⁰ Marcel Guérin, *L'Œuvre gravé de Manet*, Paris, 1944, no. 73.

²¹ Cf. Th. Duret, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Zola noticed this as well. His remarks on Manet's general approach are instructive: "He treats figure paintings as it is permitted in the schools to treat still-life; I mean that he groups the figures before him, somewhat haphazardly, and that he has no other desire than to fix them on the canvas as he sees them, with the lively contrasts which they make in separating themselves from each other." (E. Zola, "Edouard Manet" (1867) in *Mes Haines; Œuvres complètes*, ed. Le Blond, Paris, n.d., p. 259.)

²² S. L. Faison, "Manet's Portrait of Zola," *Magazine of Art*, XLII (May, 1949), 162-168.

²³ Guérin, *op. cit.*, nos. 75, 76.

²⁴ Duret, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

²⁵ E. Moreau-Nélaton, *Manet graveur et lithographe*, Paris, 1906, no. 81; Guérin, *op. cit.*, no. 75.

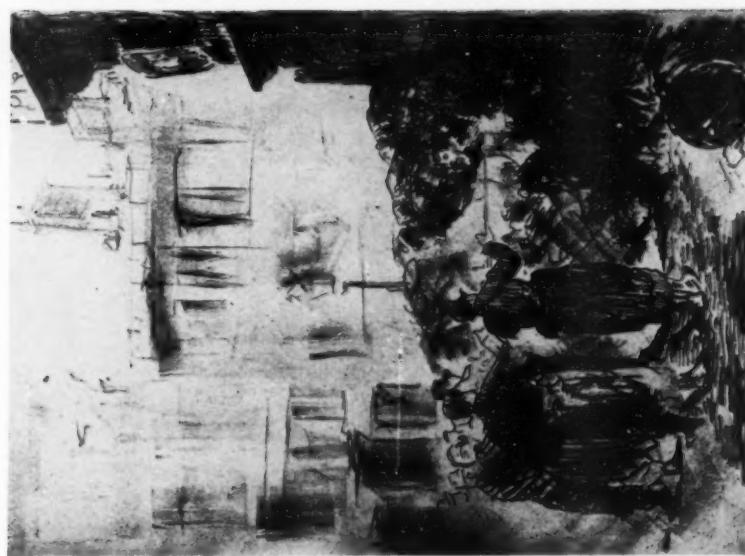


Fig. 13. EDOUARD MANET, *The Barricade* (lithograph)



Fig. 12. EDOUARD MANET, *Portrait of Emile Zola*
Paris, Louvre

²⁶ This, in turn, is very similar to Velasquez' *Dead Warrior* in the National Gallery, London. For the full comparison see Germain Bazin, "Manet et la tradition," *L'Amour de l'art*, May, 1932, p. 162.

²⁷ I.e. *The Raft of the Medusa*.

²⁸ These include: *Semiramis Building a City*; *The Daughter of Jephthah*; *The Misfortunes of Orléans*; and *The Young Spartan Girls*.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF CATALAN PAINTING OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

By CHANDLER R. POST

I. Jaime Cirera

MY connection with the large panel of an enthroned *Episcopal Saint* (Fig. 1) in the collection of the late Mr. Elwood B. Hosmer at Montreal exemplifies the tremendous assistance that modern photography has rendered to the study of art. For a great many years I have enjoyed the privilege of knowing and examining the panel, which obviously is a production of the "international movement" in Spain and dates from the first third of the fifteenth century or perhaps a very little later. But works such as this, representations of seated, canonized bishops in the principal compartments of altarpieces, resemble one another so closely in all parts of the peninsula, particularly in Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon, that my visual memory was unequal to the task of determining to which of the Spanish schools the picture belonged, not to speak of specifying the actual author. The fine photograph that I owe to the kindness of the executor of the estate, Mr. L. D. Gardner, has solved the problems, at least to my own satisfaction, in favor not only of Catalonia but even of the painter Jaime Cirera.

After reviewing carefully the many similar panels of enthroned saintly prelates from the regional schools of Spain, I was already struck by the facial analogy to Cirera's types before I remembered the virtual identity of the whole effigy and composition with the *St. Martin* from Teyá, now in the Diocesan Museum at Barcelona (Fig. 2), a work in which the younger Gudiol has brilliantly and conclusively discerned the master's craft.¹ The duplication extends to the proportions and lines of the body; the Gothic undulations of the robe; the folds of the emerging alb at the bottom, especially of its apparel; and the figuration of the chasuble's brocade (largely obliterated in the Teyá panel). Even one of the principal patterns in the embellishment of the chasuble's orphreys is repeated; and both ecclesiastics wear precisely the same mitre, with only a negligible slight variation in the beading of its lower border.

In paintings of this period in which, as here, haloed bishops are depicted as seated in magnificence, the Gothic thrones are always of much the same

general character, but the details of the specimens in the Teyá and Hosmer panels are so nearly exact in their likeness, except for such minor differences as in the number of schematized oak leaves decorating the tops of the arms, that they assume significance as proof. The fact that some of the appurtenances in the Teyá panel are embossed, in distinction from the picture at Montreal, does not weigh against a single authorship since, as the first half of the Quattrocento progressed, painters of Catalonia were already beginning to adopt in certain of their works the decorative accentuations in raised stucco that were there to be the vogue in the later years of the century. The countenance in the Hosmer panel, although similar to that of the *St. Martin* from Teyá, is not identical, but it reproduces a type often encountered in Cirera's other productions, for instance the bishop in the compartment of the *Monte Gargano Episode* (Fig. 3)² in his *Retaule of Sts. Michael and Peter* that belongs to the Museum of Catalan Art at Barcelona.³

It is tempting to guess—but no more than guess—that the picture at Montreal might have been the central piece in the (otherwise lost) *Retaule of St. Martin* in the cathedral of Solsona for which Cirera contracted on April 12, 1425,⁴ and that therefore the personage depicted is this great episcopal worthy so ubiquitously popular in the art of Europe. If the surmise be correct, it would help still further to explain the very pronounced resemblance to the undocumented *St. Martin* from Teyá.

II. The School of Borrassá

The considerable study which I have devoted to the problem has failed to disclose to me that any of the known followers of Cirera's more talented contemporary, Luis Borrassá, can with anything like surety be declared to have executed a captivating *Retaule of St. Michael* manifestly painted under his direct influence and now belonging to Monsieur Benito Pardo at Paris.⁵ The central effigy of the archangel, surmounted by the usual Crucifixion, is set between six narrative scenes relating to him and his companions in the heavenly host, but the predella has been lost. At the upper left Christ dispatches St. Michael and his associates to fight with the forces of Satan, and the actual battle is consigned to the panel just below (Fig. 4). Correspondingly at the upper right a single theme, angels conducting to the gate of heaven souls released from purgatory by a Requiem Mass, is divided between two compartments. In retablos of St. Michael the theme is ordinarily compressed into

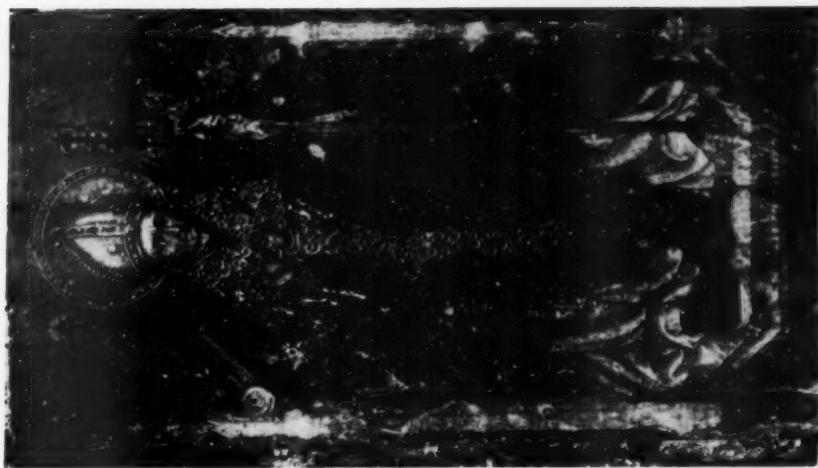


Fig. 2. JAIME CIRERA, *St. Martin*
Barcelona, Diocesan Museum

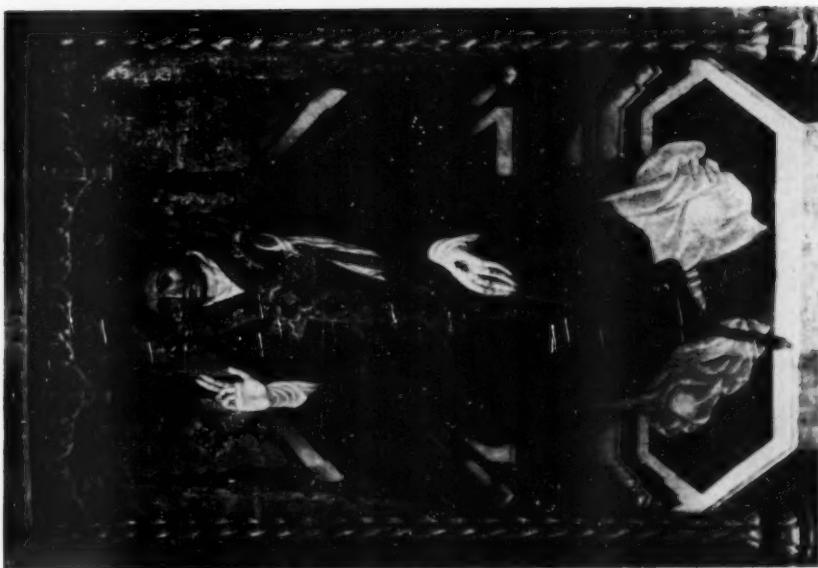


Fig. 1. JAIME CIRERA, *Episcopal Saint*
Montreal, Horner Collection



Fig. 4. SCHOOL OF LUIS BORRASSÁ
*Battle of St. Michael and his Angels
against the Infernal Powers*
(section of retable)
Paris, Pardo Collection



Fig. 5. SCHOOL OF LUIS BORRASSÁ
*The Monte Gargano Episode in the
Legend of St. Michael*
(section of retable)
Paris, Pardo Collection



one compartment; but here the Mass occupies the whole middle panel at the right, and the heavenly reception takes place in the section above (Fig. 6). The lateral episodes at the bottom are the wounding of the man by the deflected arrow on Monte Gargano (Fig. 5) and the appearance of St. Michael on this hallowed spot to the bishop and his retinue.

The painter was cognizant of Borrassá's *Retable of St. Michael* from Cruilles, now in the Diocesan Museum at Gerona,⁶ sometimes indulging in free adaptations of compositions from this source (Fig. 7), and his actual types often approach those of his inspirer pretty closely, as in the central effigy, the angels in general, and the participants in the Crucifixion; but he models so much less firmly as often to reduce the color to practically flat tones, although he compensates by spreading over his borrowings and indeed his whole style a mood of pleasant childlikeness. Mr. Frank M. Ludden of the University of Michigan, who kindly first brought Monsieur Pardo's retable to my attention, rightly discerns some kinship with Borrassá's follower whom I have called the Rousillon Master⁷ but who is eventually seen to be a more advanced and capable performer. The nearest relatives in this phase of the Catalan school are the author of the *Retable of St. John the Baptist* in the Louvre (who just possibly may be Borrassá himself)⁸ (Fig. 8) and the creator of the altarpiece of the same saint in the Diocesan Museum, Barcelona (Fig. 10);⁹ but the evidence is inadequate for an identification with either, and the safest procedure with our present knowledge is to catalogue the Pardo retable as by a hitherto unknown member of Borrassá's circle. In addition to the general charm of his gentle types and fresh imagination, he constantly arrests our attention with delightful details that in part emanated from the taste of the "international movement" for the picturesque. No one has ever realized better in a dragon the ideal of medieval grotesquerie or stylized the conception of heaven more winningly than in the starry mandorla through which St. Peter directs the redeemed to final beatitude.

III. The Vallmoll Master

Out of the bag of puzzles that still remain in early Spanish painting we can now extract, I believe, the rather large *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*,¹⁰ No. 1760 in the old *Catalogue* of the Vich Museum (Fig. 9), and designate as its author a specific and important artist, the Vallmoll Master, whose former name, the Pedralbes Master, I was obliged to abandon in volume X of my

*History of Spanish Painting*¹¹ and whom I there¹² refused to follow Gudiol and Ainaud¹³ in identifying with an early phase of Jaime Huguet. The picture acquires considerable significance not only because so few works by the Master have yet been recognized but also because it removes his equation with Huguet still further from the sphere of credibility.

Since nothing is known of the panel's history beyond the fact that it was presented to the Museum by a Don Casimiro Gerona of Barcelona, we are deprived of the argument from provenience which has assisted us in attributing to the Master the *Madonna* in the Muntadas Collection, Barcelona, and the *Annunciation* in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona,¹⁴ and are forced to rely wholly upon stylistic evidence. No one could deny the *general* agreement of the style with the manner of the Catalan school in the middle of the fifteenth century, transitional from the "international movement" to the ultimate phase of Gothic painting in Spain. Nor, more precisely, could anyone fail to descry the conformity to the Vallmoll Master's individual mode of fusing the manner with a keener admiration, inspired by Luis Dalmáu, for Flemish achievement than the great majority of his rivals in this region of the peninsula exhibited. But there are two actors in the *Lamentation* who so completely reiterate figures and distinctive traits in his other works that, although either one might be judged sufficient to establish the attribution, the cumulative proof of both indisputably, to my mind, elevates the panel to the rank of an authentic part of the scant legacy which he has bequeathed to us. We shall be able, moreover, to add to this fundamental consideration a number of subordinate and corroboratory resemblances. One of the actors is the Magdalene (kissing Christ's hand) who repeats a type often used by the Master and is most nearly duplicated in the Gabriel of the Tarragona *Annunciation* (Fig. 11); but even more determinative is her hair, not only delicately crimped in exactly the artist's fashion but falling along the edge of her mantle to an exaggerated length, in a way entirely peculiar to him and illustrated by the Muntadas *Virgin* (Fig. 13). It was probably the precedent of Dalmáu that suggested this sort of coiffure, but the Vallmoll Master develops it to so much further a degree as to make it a definitive characteristic of his own.

The second figure, decisive for the ascription, is the Nicodemus (Fig. 12) standing above the Magdalene and depicted, with a naturalistic touch, as discussing the tragedy with another of the grief-stricken holy women, for he is the same gentle-featured model whom the Master employed for the Isaiah (Fig. 15) at the upper level in the right framing piece of the Muntadas *Madonna*.

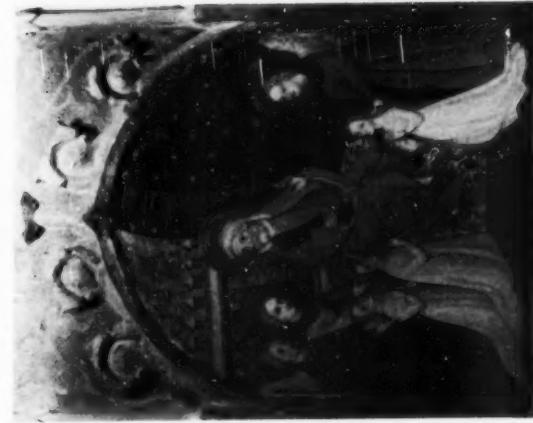


Fig. 6. SCHOOL OF LUIS BORRASSÁ, Angels
Conducting the Redeemed to Heaven
(section of relief)
Paris, Pando Collection



Fig. 7. LUIS BORRASSÁ, Angels Conducting the
Redeemed to Heaven (section of relief)
Gerona, Diocesan Museum

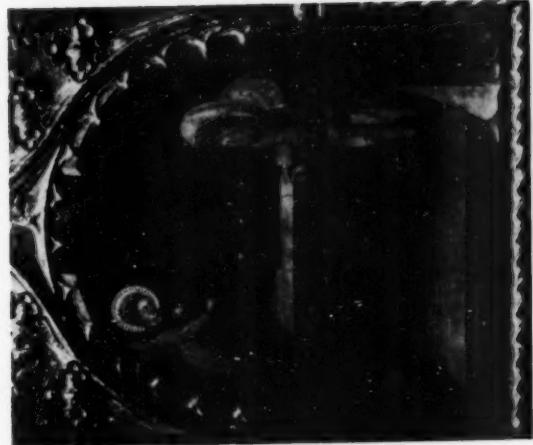


Fig. 8. LUIS BORRASSÁ OR A FOLLOWER
Annunciation to Zacharias
(relief of St. John the Baptist)
Paris, Louvre

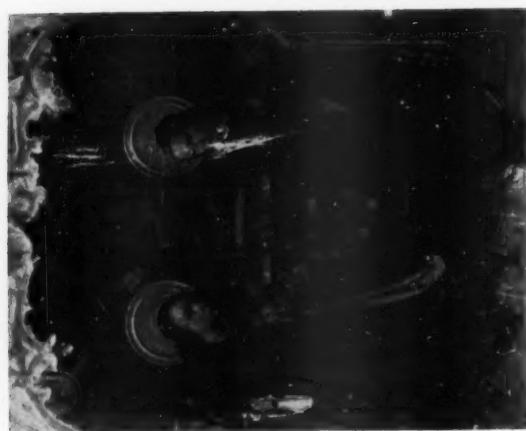


Fig. 11. THE VALLMOLL MASTER, *Annunciation*
Tarragona, Diocesan Museum



Fig. 10. SCHOOL OF LLUIS BORRÀS
Birth of St. John the Baptist
(section of retable)
Barcelona, Diocesan Museum

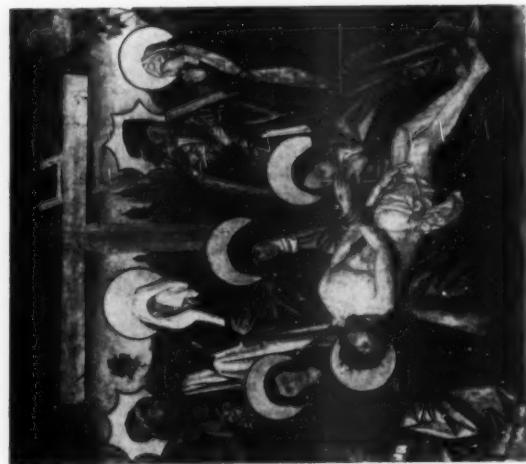


Fig. 9. THE VALLMOLL MASTER, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*
Vich, Museum

Among the secondary, supporting proofs there should be noted: the analogy, only less absolute than between Nicodemus and Isaiah, of two turbaned personages, the Joseph of Arimathaea at the extreme left in the Vich panel and, in the Muntadas picture, the Daniel at the lower level on the left section of the frame (Fig. 14); the examples, in the panel, of the Master's violently broken, Flemish folds of drapery; and the feathery trees, of which a specimen occurs in the background of the *Annunciation* at Tarragona.

The assignment of the *Lamentation* to the Vallmoll Master carries with it a salient corollary, in that the broader conception of his attainments thus afforded negatives still more emphatically the desire of Gudiol and Ainaud to transmute him merely into the not yet fully developed Huguet.

IV. The Muntaner Master

Another long-standing puzzle has been the identity of the painter to whom we owe the compartment of the *Angelic Visit to the Imprisoned St. Vincent* (Fig. 17) in the retable of this martyr, once at Sarriá and now in the Museum of Catalan Art at Barcelona, for which Huguet did five panels;¹⁸ but through the emergence of another work by the painter the solution is finally at our disposal, enabling us to isolate and define his personality and coin for him a pseudonym from the Muntaner Collection at Barcelona where the new work, a *Crucifixion*, is found (Fig. 16). The unity of authorship is sufficiently demonstrated by the intimate resemblance of the St. John, the Magdalene, and another of the holy women in the *Crucifixion* to the angel pointing to the prison's grille, and by the reappearance, in several men among the group at the right on Calvary, of precisely the sour-visaged type, with sharp, snooping nose, used for the martyr's unbearded jailers. The analogies would be even more patent if an examination of the compartment of the *Angelic Visit* did not betray that a later craftsman, perhaps the painter of the Cinquecento additions to the retable, superimposed upon many of the faces a chiaroscuro foreign to the manner of the fifteenth century, the period of the Muntaner Master's activity, and foreign to the *Crucifixion*. Indeed, the style of this representation of the tragedy on Golgotha, which has not been tampered with by any of its author's successors, reveals that the scene in St. Vincent's life, if it had not been touched up, could have been executed simultaneously with Huguet's employment on the retable, which Gudiol and Ainaud¹⁹ agree with me²⁰ in setting from about 1450 to 1460. At least it was not carried out at a very much tardier

date; or perhaps it was even the first piece done and Huguet later assumed the commission.

The Muntaner Master, if not actually trained by Huguet, was formed partly under his influence, manifesting as yet no tangible effect of contact with the competing shop of the Vergós family, but, especially in human types and schematization of landscape, he evolved an individual interpretation of the Catalan manner of the middle and second half of the Quattrocento, easily distinguishable from Huguet's modes, whether or not he used for the composition of his piece in the *Retable of St. Vincent* a sketch that the latter had made.¹⁸ In a subsequent volume of my *History of Spanish Painting*, indeed, I shall endeavor to show that the additions of the sixteenth century disclose a greater number of tangible traces of possible beginnings by the Muntaner Master than by his more illustrious rival. The discovery of the real painter of St. Vincent's angelic experience nullifies my former, very faint-hearted suggestion¹⁹ that it might just conceivably be a performance of the Visitation Master.

¹ J. Gudiol Ricart, *Historia de la pintura gótica en Cataluña*, Barcelona, 1944, p. 40.

² For this theme see the next section of my article.

³ My *History of Spanish Painting*, X, 304-305.

⁴ S. Sanpere y Miquel, *Los cuatrocentistas catalanes*, Barcelona, 1906, I, 177-178; and J. M. Madurell, *Annales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, III, 4 (1945), 302.

⁵ Said to have been once in the possession of the owner of a château near Blois. The dimensions are approximately 1.80 metres in height by 1.50 in width.

⁶ My *History of Spanish Painting*, IX, 748.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, 777.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 330.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 332.

¹⁰ The dimensions are 1.34 metres in height by 1.20 in width.

¹¹ P. 372.

¹² P. 378.

¹³ J. Gudiol Ricart and J. Ainaud de Lasarte, *Huguet*, Barcelona, 1948, p. 51.

¹⁴ My *History of Spanish Painting*, X, 372.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, 122 ff. Huguet's activity on the retable, hitherto established only by internal evidence, is now documented through the records of the litigation of his heir, his daughter Eulalia, in regard to his remuneration: see p. 29 of the already cited monograph by Gudiol and Ainaud, who (p. 107) inform us of another fact which I did not know, i.e., that a statue of St. Vincent occupied the center of the structure. The collection of Mr. H. Behrens in Mexico City contains adaptations, made by someone in the sixteenth century, not only of Huguet's compartment of St. Vincent's destruction of Apollo's statue but also of the panel of Eudoxia's exorcism at St. Stephen's shrine in the retable by the Vergós atelier from Granollers (see my *History of Spanish Painting*, VII, 424).

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 74-75 and 107.

¹⁷ *History of Spanish Painting*, VII, 129.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 490.

N.B. Figures 2, 3, 11, 13, 16 and 17: Photo. Archivo mas.



Fig. 13. THE VALLMOLL MASTER, *Madonna and Child with Angels* (detail)
Barcelona, Muntadas Collection



Fig. 12. THE VALLMOLL MASTER, *Nicodemus and one of the Holy Women* (detail of Lamentation)
Vich, Museum



Fig. 14. THE VALLMOLL MASTER, Daniel (on
frame of Madonna and Angels panel)
Barcelona, Muntadas Collection



Fig. 15. THE VALLMOLL MASTER, Itaiab
(on frame of Madonna and Angels panel)
Barcelona, Muntadas Collection

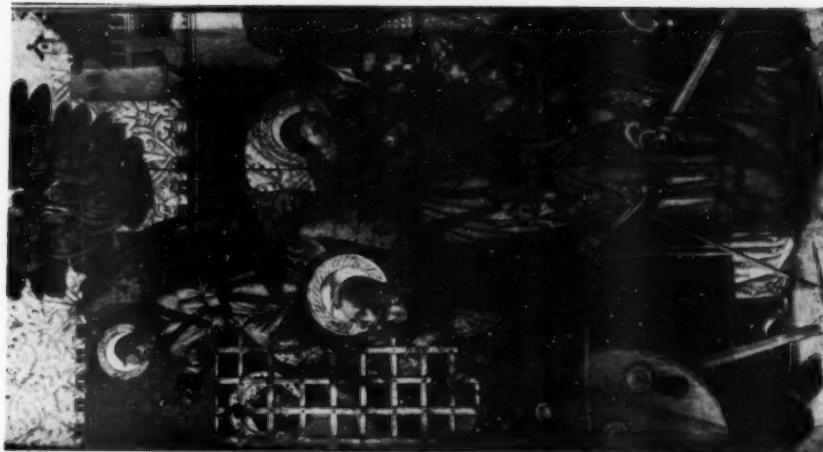


Fig. 17. THE MUNTANER MASTER, *Angelic Visit to the Imprisoned St. Vincent* (section of retable)
Barcelona, Museum of Catalan Art



Fig. 16. THE MUNTANER MASTER, *Crucifixion*
Barcelona, Muntaner Collection



Fig. 1. EDWARD HICKS, *The Peaceable Kingdom*
Buffalo, Albright Art Gallery

EDWARD HICKS AND THE TRADITION

By JULIUS S. HELD

HOLGER CAHILL, in his comments on Edward Hicks,¹ emphasized correctly the importance of Hicks' training in the shop of a coach-maker and painter for the understanding of Hicks' art. The crudeness of Hicks' style and, as we will see below, his relation to his models are surely due to the absorption of practices common to craftsmen's shops. Mr. Cahill, however, claims special virtues for this training in contrast to that given to young artists in "academic" art schools of the time, especially in regard to "sound craftsmanship." "After a lapse of a hundred years," says Cahill of Hicks' works, "they are in a better state of preservation than the works of many painters of the academic tradition of far greater reputation and presumably greater technical knowledge."

It is not my contention to argue this point, although I have yet to see a painting by such typical representatives of the academic tradition in American art as West, Copley, Stuart or Trumbull which has deteriorated because of faulty craftsmanship. What strikes me as significant in Cahill's statement is the early application to a special problem of the leitmotiv of a great deal of writing on Hicks, namely, that his art is opposed to, and superior to, works of the official tradition of art, generally identified somewhat vaguely as "academic." Occasionally, the contrast between Hicks and "academic" art is seen under the pattern "native" versus "foreign" art, as for instance when Mrs. Lipman said of Hicks' paintings as well as of other "primitive" works: "falling far short of academic standards and lacking completely any aura of continental elegance [they] are free, original, vigorous expressions of an important native tradition in American art. They express the very spirit of the flowering democracy of nineteenth century America. . . ."²

Not only the sentiment underlying such a statement but its actual wording is remarkably akin to the romantic glorification of the "noble savage" in eighteenth century literature. "Lacking completely any aura of continental elegance" sounds like the paraphrase of a line written by the eighteenth century German poet Seume concerning a Canadian Indian who "still was ignorant of Europe's skin-deep politeness."³ R. Goldwater has shown that the interest in primitive civilizations was an important strand in the fabric of modern art.⁴ The various and repeated "discoveries" of "primitive" artists are equally

significant phenomena, reflecting the profound dissatisfaction of modern man with the conditions of our industrialized, impersonal, and highly complex society. The summer resident of Vermont who collects "American Antiques" and whose home has what an ad-writer recently called "the enchanting provincial look" may not be aware of it but he actually is a minor Gauguin, fleeing to Tahiti, or a French Fauve, admiring African Negro sculpture. The pervasive predisposition of critics to extol "primitive" works as "naïve," "non-derivative," "original" or "native," prevents them from admitting or giving weight to any observation which might interfere with the fiction of the "originality" of the admired object or artist.

The case of Edward Hicks is instructive in this connection. Because it was assumed that the methods of traditional art investigation were not applicable to a "primitive" and hence "non-derivative" artist, little has been done to study systematically the sources of Hicks' art. It could, of course, not remain long unnoticed that Hicks copied freely. Yet F. N. Price, for instance, who recognized some of these copies, seems to consider them as a sign of Hicks' naïvete⁵ and hence overlooks the fact that copying from prints was an established practice of official art education and that even in strongholds of the "academic" tradition such as the Pennsylvania Academy there was always a fair share of copies in the annual exhibitions.

Another attitude found in the discussion of Hicks' copies is that the "models" were only more or less accidental points of departure, and that what really matters is not what Hicks chose to copy but how he transformed his models into the rugged patterns of his "primitive" style. Yet, it should give some cause for thought to realize that the models of an artist acclaimed as the very opposite of the academic tradition⁶ should, in those cases where they have been identified, turn out to be typical products of just that tradition, as for instance *Penn's Treaty with the Indians* by West, *The Declaration of Independence* by Trumbull, *Washington Crossing the Delaware* by Sully, or such "traditional" works as H. F. de Cort's *Penn's Grave*.⁷ On the other hand, despite the occasionally expressed opinion that Hicks derived his paintings from the study of nature (in addition to that of prints), not a single instance is known where he actually did so. There is a painting by Hicks which shows Niagara Falls and some writers believe that it was done from memory, after his return from his trip through the northeastern states. However, while it is possible that the idea of painting a Niagara picture may have come to him through his personal acquaintance with the impressive sight, his painting surely made use of one



Fig. 2. EDWARD HICKS, *The Peaceable Kingdom*
New York, F. M. Price Collection



Fig. 3. *The Natural Bridge of Virginia*
(lithograph after a painting by V. Roberts)

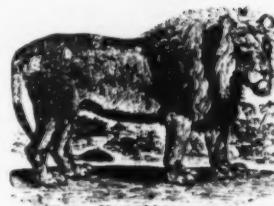


Fig. 4. From "A General History
of Quadrupeds," by M. Anderson
(woodcuts copied from
Tb. Bewick)



*Fig. 5. FLEMISH, XVI CENTURY, *The Creation*
Avignon, Musée Calvet*



*Fig. 6. Adam and the Animals (engraving)
Frontispiece, Bible, Lunenburg (Mass.), 1828.*

of the many prints current in his time. It shows the Falls as they were normally taken, from the Canadian side, with two billowing, rather solid looking clouds of vapor rising from them, a standard feature of a great number of prints.

For Hicks' dependence on prints another example can be pointed out which helps us to see the close ties between his art and that of his contemporaries. In some versions of the *Peaceable Kingdom* there appears a rocky arch, described by one writer as "ambitious and rather gloomy,"⁸ which is clearly not an invention by Hicks at all. It is a picture of the celebrated "Natural Bridge" of Virginia, a landmark which was a favorite subject of early print makers. It is again possible that Hicks had seen the famous gorge, but in his rendering (Fig. 2) he follows what seems to have been the most popular version in art, a painting by V. Roberts from which several prints were made (Fig. 3).⁹ Characteristic of this group of prints is a continuous row of trees across the bridge, the big rocks in the rushing creek, and especially the layer effect of the cliffs at the left with their prominent hump, or nose, toward the top. Hicks evidently followed one of these prints, his chief change being the transformation of the rocks of the span itself into a more precise stonework, simulating masonry. This may be partly due to the well-known tendency of amateur painters to emphasize small units such as stones, bricks, leaves, hair, etc. However, the frequency with which the Natural Bridge appears in pictures of the *Peaceable Kingdom* is hardly accidental. It is likely that through its presence Hicks wanted to re-enforce the "message" of his theme. I believe that the rocky span was to him not only one of the wonders of God's creation but also a symbol of the conquest of the wilderness by an element of civilization, a real "Bridge" stretching across a deep and dangerous chasm. Thus by stressing the bridge-character of the transversal arch, Hicks glorified the Lord as a master architect and tied the image at the same time into the context of the taming of wild animals.

It is easy to distinguish in this use of a famous natural spectacle the reflection of a typically romantic pantheism which, in reference to the Natural Bridge, is already noticeable in Jefferson's restrained prose when he describes the arch as "so elevated, so light, and springing as it were up to heaven."¹⁰ If this connection is admitted, Hicks' interest in Niagara Falls and his renderings of famous incidents of American History, far from being "naïve in conception" are typical manifestations of the romantic period with its search for the "sublime" in nature and its love of patriotic themes.¹¹ By the time Hicks dealt with these themes, official romantic art had turned already in somewhat

different directions in the works of Washington Allston and the Hudson River school. This backwardness of Hicks is a phenomenon characteristic of a man living in a conservative community. It illustrates well the survival, in works by modest practitioners of art, of patterns of thought and representation formulated by the leading masters.

It is important to keep this case in mind when dealing with other aspects of the *Peaceable Kingdom*, which is not only by far the most frequently rendered subject in Hicks' work, but also one which has endeared him more than any other to the modern beholder. The literature on Hicks is silent with regard to the question of the degree of originality of these works. Since no *Peaceable Kingdom* is known by any of the official academic artists, and since there is a considerable amount of variation from one version of the theme to the other, it is safe to assume that not one of them is copied *in toto* from another artist's work. Our discussion of the Natural Bridge, however, has shown that parts of a composition may indeed be copied.

In several versions of the *Peaceable Kingdom*, we meet a child whom Hicks has painted also in a separate picture as an allegory of Innocence.¹² The graceful, but traditional *contrapposto* of this girl, her flowing robe, the conventional allegorical devices, and even the shape of the ribbon are clear indications that Hicks copied this figure. The model may have been a modest wood engraving which has yet to be found. More important is the fact that almost all the animals come from traditional sources and not from observation or from the "inner light" of imagination. Hicks' method of work seems to have been the assembling, in ever new variations, of certain stock figures and poses. He repeated them over and over again and it seems probable that he took them from a pattern book which he had made for himself as the typical craftsman that he was. Any detailed examination of his animals shows that their movements reflect conceptions of form of an almost contradictory kind. There is, for instance, in the foreground of the Albright version (Fig. 1) a panther whose body is reduced to a sleek, almost streamlined silhouette. He lies flat on the ground and parallel to the picture plane. A little further back we see by contrast a lion placed in the diagonal, who moves with an extraordinary looseness and elasticity, his right paw lifted, his head turning in the opposite direction, and his tail forming a final bold flourish in a contour conceived in undulating curves. The type of this lion can actually be traced to Flemish artists under the influence of Rubens and we find it as a standardized formula in many subsequent works. Similarly advanced in its naturalism is

the figure of a goat found in many pictures, which lies on the ground in a rather elegant way and is seen from the back and in foreshortening. This goat, indeed, is a stock in trade of almost all pastoral scenes derived from Dutch masters such as P. Potter and A. v. d. Velde.¹⁸ One example, from many, may be seen in an engraving of *Adam and the Animals* which appeared as frontispiece in a Bible published in 1828 in Lunenburg, Massachusetts (Fig. 6). The more rigid and stylized forms of animals like that of the leopard mentioned before, seem to have been suggested to Hicks by illustrations like the wood engravings in M. Anderson's *A General History of Quadrupeds*, of 1804 (which actually are coarsened copies of wood engravings by Thomas Bewick) (Fig. 4), or in S. G. Goodrich's *Universal Geography*, published in 1832 (see "Margay," page 467). It was apparently a more or less common procedure in such zoological illustrations to show the animal sideways with its head turned towards the beholder, a practice which we find in many instances in Hicks' paintings.

What is true of the animals can be said also of forms of trees. In his most ambitious landscapes Hicks likes to introduce a gnarled and picturesquely broken-off trunk from which issue a few wind-swept branches with some bared twigs and some tufts of small patterned foliage. This rather complex organism which differs radically from such plain trunk-and-crown affairs as the trees in Hicks' *Twining's Farm* is an old stand-by of Dutch landscapes and those derived from them. Hicks may have seen it in art manuals such as *The Artists' Repository*, or *Encyclopedia of the Fine Arts*, London, 1808, where it is illustrated in several variations in volume 3 (for instance, pls. I, II and XV), but it was so widespread a formula that it is not necessary to determine Hicks' source more exactly.

That not only the details but the general plan of Hicks' landscapes, especially of those found in compositions of the *Peaceable Kingdom*, follow well-established patterns will be seen in the following paragraphs. Yet it should be clear from the foregoing that far from being "the very opposite" of academic, or as it had better be called "traditional" art, Hicks shared with it a basic similarity of outlook and derived from it most of the formal elements for those pictures which he did not actually copy in their entirety.

Hicks' pictures of the *Peaceable Kingdom* illustrate the famous passage of Isaiah 11:6-8, which expresses an old messianic hope of universal and lasting peace. When that age of peace dawns, carnivorous animals will lie down and

munch grass with their former victims and children will move among them unafraid. Since abhorrence of war was one of the most strongly upheld principles of Quakerism, it is easy to understand that Isaiah's image of a kingdom of peace appealed especially to members of the Society of Friends. To the illustration of the concord among animals Hicks frequently added the scene of Penn's peace with the Indians as an example of the success of the Quaker spirit in the field of practical politics and, more important perhaps, as a promise of the approaching age of peace. The association of William Penn with the concept of peace was a well established pattern of thought for which there is an interesting document found in a testimony by Elias Hicks on November 16, 1826.¹⁴ When Hicks introduced into an illustration of Isaiah's prophecy this peace treaty made between a wild and ferocious people on the one hand and a civilized and peace-loving nation on the other, he was of course well aware of the allegorical interpretation of the different animals of the biblical text as symbols of different nations.¹⁵ Isaiah himself gave a basis for such an interpretation and there is an enormous amount of evidence that this allegorical meaning of Isaiah was always understood, even where there existed confidence in the literal truth of the prophecy.¹⁶ Alexander Pope, in his famous "sacred eclogue" *Messiah* (patterned after Virgil's "messianic" fourth eclogue) coupled the image of the *Peaceable Kingdom* with the prophecy of peace among nations.¹⁷ Hicks may indeed have been moved by a knowledge of Pope's often printed poem to his own versified transcriptions of Isaiah's text which he painted on the frames of several versions of the *Peaceable Kingdom*.¹⁸ If so, Hicks' poetic style would appear to stand in a similar formal relationship to that of its "academic" model as the style of his paintings to that of their prototypes.

Isaiah's description of the pacification of wild animals as a manifestation of messianic fulfillment is frequently repeated in Jewish and Christian writing and is echoed in many legends of medieval saints.¹⁹ The popularity of the theme was enhanced by the possibility of paralleling this peaceful final stage with the equally peaceful beginnings, before man's fall estranged the creatures from each other and him from them. When Adam was given dominion over the animals and when he gave them names, they were still trusting and meant no harm. The kingdom of the "Prince of Peace" is hence but the re-establishment of a condition which had existed before, the regaining of the lost paradise. (See also footnote 32.) This parallelism which corresponds to one of the types of "primitivism" established by Lovejoy²⁰ is important for the

iconographic history of the *Peaceable Kingdom* because it makes possible the formal assimilation of one theme to the other.

For this iconographic history, however, we must also take into consideration the myth of Orpheus which tells us that the power of music produced on his lyre enchanted wild animals and literally moved rivers, rocks and trees. For the well-known absorption of Orphic ideas by the early Christians, Orpheus' role as a bringer of peace, even though it was more of an armistice than a peace, as one version of his myth underscores,²¹ may have been of considerable influence. There is, at any rate, little doubt possible that the representations of Orpheus amidst the animals formulated in antiquity are the real fountainheads for all later renderings of a peaceful assembly of animals in biblical or mythological themes.

Representations of Orpheus and the Animals are sporadically found from the fifth century B. C. but they apparently became frequent only when Orphism had become a popular religion in the Roman Empire. The principal type evolved in Antiquity for this subject is illustrated by a late Roman mosaic in the Museum at Palermo (Fig. 7).²² Orpheus sits in the center next to a tree. Arranged around him without regard for spatial illusion, but all facing center, are the animals, each one individually silhouetted against a light ground. Several animals are rendered lying down or sitting as an indication of their pacific state of mind. There is a good deal of variation in the choice of animals from one example to another. Occasionally even a satyr is found among them, a feature which reappears in the Renaissance. In general we find some domestic animals, several of the big cats, deer, birds and snakes.

We cannot undertake to trace here in detail the development of the ancient renderings of Orpheus or the various ways in which they were merged into Christian iconography.²³ There are lines which lead from Orpheus and the Animals to the theme of Adam and the Animals, to that of David as Psalmist, and to Christ as Good Shepherd. The mixture of wild and tame animals, typical of the Orpheus myth, is encountered in scenes of the Creation and of Adam among the Animals, as developed chiefly in Byzantine art. The Orpheus theme itself, however, after having figured in catacomb paintings, disappears from medieval art.²⁴ When it reappears again under the influence of the mythographic literature of the fourteenth century, it is now in turn patterned after Christian themes, especially that of the Creation. This is very evident if one compares the *Creation of the Quadrupeds* from the façade of Orvieto Cathedral²⁵ with the delightful miniature of Orpheus in the Codex Reginensis

Lat. 1290 in the Vatican, done about 1420.²⁶ The façade of the Cathedral of Orvieto, incidentally, is especially interesting in connection with our topic for it contains one of the very rare illustrations of Isaiah's prophecy of the *Peaceable Kingdom*. The scene appears in one of the small reliefs in the tree of Jesse on the second pier. Schmarsow²⁷ had interpreted this scene as the hiding of Joash's son from the persecution of Athalia (II Kings 2:1), even though he apparently was puzzled about the presence of a lion and a snake among what he calls "the sacrificial animals of the temple." However, Enzo Carli in his recent book gave the correct solution,²⁸ that both parts of the composition refer to prophecies of Isaiah, the lower part illustrating the *Peaceable Kingdom*. Two rows of animals are shown facing each other, several of them lying on the ground, but except for a hole for the snake there is no indication of a setting.

The Orpheus miniature in the Vatican Codex Reg. 1290 is followed by a great many renderings of the Orpheus theme during the Renaissance.²⁹ The god is shown standing, or, as knowledge of the classical prototypes improved, seated, and surrounded on both sides by animals. There is an unmistakable trend towards observation of the real animal world. This trend is of course characteristic of the general development which also transformed Bestiaries into zoological handbooks and which caused the shift of emphasis in Herbals from medicinal uses to description and classification. Of chief importance in renderings of the Orpheus myth is the increasing value given to the landscape setting. This is probably due to Ovid's account³⁰ which inspired artists to increase the number of trees so as to provide a shady grove.

Gradually the theme of magic attraction so strong in the classical as well as the Renaissance renderings of this subject seems to be giving way to that of a large peaceful assembly of all sorts of animals. This is evident in an Orpheus picture painted in 1607 by F. van Valckenborch (Fig. 9).³¹ A fiddling Orpheus is here seated in a densely wooded landscape. His figure is relatively small and the chief interest falls upon the veritable *ménagerie* of domestic and wild animals where the unicorn alone provides an exotic touch. Several of these animals turn their heads and seem to be looking at the beholder.

The same development towards a pictorial catalogue of animal life can be noticed also in renderings of pictures of Paradise. The Musée Calvet in Avignon owns a mid-sixteenth century Flemish painting of the Antwerp school³² where God is shown standing on a large plain filled with an almost

bewildering assortment of beasts and birds (Fig. 5). The general pattern recalls compositions like Bosch's *Garden of Delight*, but instead of Bosch's monstrosities we have here creatures which have been studied from life with a great deal of scientific precision.³³ Most of the animals (the unicorn, of course, excepted) appear in pairs, contrary to the Orpheus tradition, and the trees are relegated to the background where the story of Adam and Eve is told in small figures.

Even these differences between the themes of Orpheus and Paradise tend to disappear in the seventeenth century. It is particularly the scene of *Adam naming the Animals* which becomes almost interchangeable with that of *Orpheus taming the Beasts*. It may suffice to mention in this connection such Flemish masters as Roelant Savery, Gillis de Hondecoeter and Jan Brueghel the Elder.³⁴ It is this school and its pervasive influence which must be credited with the actual transmission of the basic pattern of Hicks' *Peaceable Kingdom*.

In this connection a painting which is preserved in the museum of Danzig deserves some attention. It shows *Adam and the Animals* and was done by an anonymous artist around the middle of the seventeenth century (Fig. 8). Adam stands nude in a wooded glade and around him crowd single animals, many of whom look at the beholder. The majority of the animals are in the right half of the picture, while at the left there opens a distant view. As in several renderings of this subject Adam touches the head of one animal, in this case that of a dog.³⁵ There is a surprising similarity in the general pattern of this composition with some of Hicks' *Peaceable Kingdoms*. Indeed, the Danzig picture, because it is itself the work of a provincial artist, is rather close to some of Hicks' paintings in the schematic, impersonal treatment of foliage, the stiff posing of its animals and even in the regularized, conceptual treatment of the leopard's spots.³⁶

It is of course evident that Hicks could not have known the Danzig picture. Such an assumption is indeed quite superfluous. Yet the existence of the Danzig picture shows the possibility of provincial transformations of the seventeenth century Orpheus or Adam patterns before Hicks, in examples which he could have known. The Bible print of 1828 (Fig. 6), while less close to Hicks, demonstrates nevertheless the spreading of the European pattern into channels which were within Hicks' reach. The *Peaceable Kingdom* itself was illustrated, though apparently in an abbreviated form, in a prayer book published in Hartford in 1828,³⁷ there may have been other earlier illustrations.

From the first part of our discussion it will be remembered that Hicks was

definitely acquainted with individual features of the Dutch landscape and animal tradition. It is perhaps not useless to point out that in Hicks' time there were available in this country, besides reproductions in prints, a considerable number of original paintings belonging to that tradition, and right in Philadelphia at that. The early catalogues of the annual exhibitions of the Philadelphia Academy list for instance *A Wolf and a Lamb* by A. Hondius (1819, No. 94), a *Grand Convention of Beasts and Birds* by Snyders (1826, No. 13), a landscape *Cows Lying Down, etc.* by Potter (1826, p. 141), *Landscape with Sheep, Wolves, etc.* by P. Bril (1827, No. 101); in addition, bucolic paintings by Moucheron, Van Bergen, Ommeganck and others, a *Noah with the Beasts* by Bassano, and engravings of animals after Rubens and others by W. Walker and J. Murray. Since we have seen that the "opposition" of Hicks to "academic" art is only a fiction and since Hicks, despite his occasional uneasiness about the moral value of painting, was evidently passionately addicted to his art, it is by no means impossible that he had some knowledge of local collections and exhibitions.³⁸

The conclusion of the preceding observations would be that whatever originality can be claimed for Hicks is a very limited originality indeed. His art was, basically, just as derivative as that of a good many other "primitives," including Grandma Moses, and of course as much so as that of the majority of official or "academic" artists. It was derivative, above all, in the elements of its compositions and in their general layout. With regard to the *Peaceable Kingdom* Hicks' personal achievement lies in the choice of a subject which had been rendered but rarely in art before him.³⁹ Yet, because of Hicks' general acquaintance with the pictorial patterns of traditional art, his illustration of Isaiah's prophecy fell with almost logical necessity into an arrangement which had been evolved long before for the Orpheus-Adam themes. This statement is not intended to belittle Hicks' art, which retains a good many charming and personal features; it is made in order to put it into a proper historical perspective and to make at the same time a small contribution to the wider problem of "originality" of so-called "primitive" art in general.⁴⁰ Hicks' art is connected by innumerable threads with the broad stream of Western civilization, which nourished also the "academic" masters. If we are attracted by a certain "primitive" crudeness in the execution of Hicks' pictures we should be conscious of the fact that it is but the provincial dialect of a conventional and established language, and that the painter himself neither claimed, nor would have admitted a need for, originality of thought or syntax. Indeed, we can be pretty

sure that Hicks, with his militant Quaker suspicion of pride and arrogance, and his constant emphasis on "the path of humble industry,"⁴¹ would have spurned any effort to be "original" in an activity as secular as painting. By copying and by using established patterns and formulas, he freed — surely without being conscious of it — his artistic activity from the struggles and triumphs which a real creative effort entails. He liked to paint, and he was satisfied that his ability to make pictures provided him with the means of making a living.⁴² For a man of his training — the training of the craftsman, used to working from patterns — and of his humility, it was natural to depend on formulas which artists of superior training had created before him. I may even venture to assume that Hicks himself would have been less pleased to think that he was regarded as an "original" and "non-derivative" master — labels which reflect standards of value completely foreign and inapplicable to his art — than to know that his many pictures of the *Peaceable Kingdom* continued iconographic traditions almost as old as the Bible itself.⁴³

⁴¹ Holger Cahill, *Masters of Popular Painting*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1938, p. 98. Cahill's statement was probably based on H. D. Paxson, Jr., "Edward Hicks and His Paintings," *Papers*, Bucks County Historical Society, VI (1932), 1-4.

⁴² Jean Lipman, "Print to Primitive," *Antiques*, L (1946), 41 ff.

⁴³ Johann Gottfried Seume (1763-1810), *Der Wilde*: "Ein Canadier, der noch Europens / Uebertuerchte Höflichkeit nicht kannte . . ."

⁴⁴ Robert Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Painting*, New York, 1938.

⁴⁵ Frederick Newlin Price, *Edward Hicks 1780-1849*, Swarthmore College, Pa., 1945, p. 14.

⁴⁶ Jean Lipman, *The American Collector*, August 1945, p. 6: "The conception and execution of this painting (The *Peaceable Kingdom* of the Museum of Modern Art) is typically naïve, representing the opposite in every way of the academic tradition in American art . . ." (italics ours).

⁴⁷ The only important new feature in Hicks' copy of de Cort's work is the presence of a large bull. The design of this animal, however, is rather similar to the cattle found in John A. Woodside's *Country Fair* of 1824 (*Life in America*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1939, p. 62) and may have been derived from prints. A. Kees, "Peaceable Painter," *Antiques*, LII (1947), 254.

⁴⁸ The original painting by V. Roberts belonged to Thomas Jefferson.

⁴⁹ Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, New York, 1801, p. 35. Cf. also the lines which Hicks copied from Alexander Wilson's poem *The Foresters*, for the frame of his picture of Niagara Falls:

"This great, o'erwhelming work of awful Time,
In all its dread magnificence sublime,
Rose on our view, amid a crashing roar
That bade us kneel, and Time's great God adore."

⁵⁰ Al. Wilson, *The Foresters*, West Chester, Pa., 1838, p. 75.

⁵¹ E. P. Richardson, *American Romantic Painting*, New York, 1944, p. 10: "The successful close of the war of 1812 brought a wave of renewed confidence and national pride which led many painters to dream of painting great national subjects."

⁵² Collection R. W. Carle. For the shape of the ribbon and the lettering on it cf., for instance, Bewick's trademark for Atkinson's Bears-Grease, T. Hugo, *Bewick's woodcuts*, London, 1870, No. 1659. The influence of Bewick's and A. Anderson's wood engravings on popular art seems to be worth a special study. The carving of cigar-store Indians may have been inspired by the figure of Indians designed by Bewick as trade-marks for English tobacco importers.

⁵³ The *Landscape* in the collection of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (Price, *op. cit.*, p. 12) has close analogies with works of P. Potter and artists who worked in his manner.

⁵⁴ *The Quaker*, being a series of sermons by members of the Society of Friends, I (Phila., 1827), p. 48.

⁵⁵ Another interpretation, in terms of moral concepts, was given by such church fathers as Eusebius and Clemens of Alexandria, cf. F. Piper, *Mythologie der Christlichen Kunst*, Weimar, 1847, pp. 124-25.

¹⁸ Robert Eisler, *Orphisch-Dionysische Mysterien-Gedanken in der Christlichen Antike*, Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, 1922-23, Pt. 2, Leipzig-Berlin, 1925, p. 32 ff. That we are still far from the universal peace among nations was expressed by a modern cartoonist in a free "adaptation" of Hicks' *Peaceable Kingdom*. He showed (on the cover design of *The Reporter* of Sept. 13, 1949) the Atlantic Pact nations as the peaceful animals — the Gallic rooster and the Canadian moose forming rather unusual additions — guarded by Truman dressed as a Quaker. One un-reconstructed beast, however, prowls still outside the fence: the Russian bear. (Mrs. Lipman called this amusing sheet to my attention.)

¹⁹ Alexander Pope, "A Sacred Eclogue"

... "All crimes shall cease, and ancient fraud shall fail
Returning justice lift alone her scale;
Peace o'er the world her olive wand extend
And white rob'd Innocence from heav'n descend.

"No more shall nation against nation rise,

"The lamb with wolves shall graze the verdant mead
And boys, in flow'ry bands the tiger lead;
The steer and lion at one crib shall meet,
And harmless serpents lick the pilgrim's feet.
The smiling infant in his hand shall take
The crested basilisk and speckled snake,
Pleas'd the green lustre of the scales survey
and with their forked tongue shall innocently play."

Pope's line about "white rob'd Innocence" may furnish the explanation for the presence of the allegorical figure of Innocence in some of Hicks' versions of the *Peaceable Kingdom*. The last four quoted lines were used for the title-page illustration of a New Testament published by Collins in 1807 and by Brown in 1813 in New York. I owe the knowledge of this plate to Mrs. J. Lipman.

²⁰ "The wolf shall with the lambkin dwell in peace,
His grim, carnivorous nature, then shall cease;
The leopard with the harmless kid lay down,
And not one savage beast be seen to frown;
The lion and the calf shall forward move.
A little child shall lead them on in love;
When MAN is moved and led by sov'reign grace,
To seek that state of everlasting PEACE."

That Hicks considered Penn's treaty with the Indians as a part of the Messianic fulfillment appears from the fact that he used the past tense ("The wolf did with the lambkin dwell in peace," etc.) when he finished with a reference to Penn:

"When the great PENN his famous treaty made
With Indian chiefs beneath the Elm tree's shade."

For Hicks' acquaintance with literary sources see also L. Dresser's reference to his interpretation of the animals in the *Peaceable Kingdom* in terms of the traditional theory of the four humors. (L. D., "The Peaceable Kingdom," Worcester Art Museum Bulletin, XXV (1934), 25 ff.)

²¹ Cf. Meyer Schapiro, "The Religious Meaning of the Ruthwell Cross," *The Art Bulletin*, 1944, p. 232 ff. Also Eisler, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

²² A. O. Lovejoy, *A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas*, Baltimore, 1935, p. 3: "Theory of Decline and Future Restoration."

²³ Claudianus, *De Raptis Proserpinae*, II, preface, mentions that the animals began fighting each other as soon as Orpheus stopped playing.

²⁴ Cf. Kern-Strzgowski, *Orpheus*, Berlin, 1920, p. 60. I owe the photograph of this mosaic to the kindness of the Warburg Institute, London.

²⁵ For these questions cf. the articles on Orpheus in Cabrol and Pauly-Wissowa. K. Ziegler, the last author in Pauly-Wissowa, promised a special study on the history of Orpheus-representations from Antiquity to modern times. This study, to my knowledge, has not yet been published. Cf. also Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton, 1947, p. 362.

²⁶ F. Piper, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

²⁷ Reproduced: Enzo Carli, *Le sculture del Duomo di Orvieto*, Bergamo, 1947, pl. 37.

²⁸ H. Liebeschuetz, *Fulgentius Metfordensis*, Leipzig, 1926, pl. XXIV, Abb. 41, Codex Reginensis Latinus 1290, p. 5r.

²⁹ A. Schmarsow, *Italienische Kunst im Zeitalter Dante's*, Augsburg, 1928, p. 146.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 36, pl. 11.

³¹ Erich Krause, *Die Mythen-Darstellungen in der venezianischen Ovid-Ausgabe von 1497*, Wuerzburg, 1926, pp. 60-64. Cf. also S. Colvin, *A Florentine Picture-Chronicle*, London, 1898, pp. 128-29.

³² Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X, 87 ff. In Sellaio's version (P. Schubring, *Cassoni*, Leipzig, 1923, Vol. II, pl. 357) there is a rocky arch behind the turbaned figure of Orpheus, perhaps as an example of the "civilizing" influence of Orpheus' music on dead stones, and as such a curious anticipation of Hicks' use of the "Natural Bridge."

³³ Formerly Stroefer collection, Nürnberg, sold at J. Boehler's, Munich, Oct. 28, 1939.

³⁴ The artist seems to have been a follower of the Master of the Female Half-lengths. His landscape conception



Fig. 7. *Orpheus Enchanting the Animals* (mosaic)
Palermo Museum

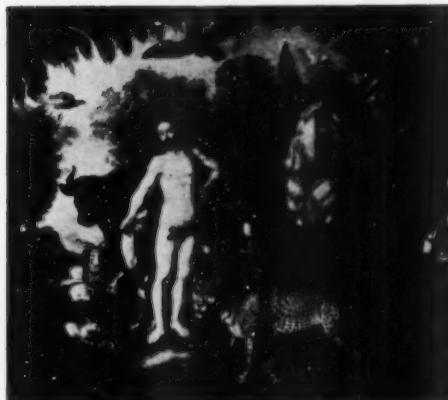


Fig. 8. GERMAN, XVII CENTURY
Adam and the Animals
Danzig, Municipal Museum



Fig. 9. F. VAN VALCKENBORCH, *Orpheus Enchanting the Animals*
Formerly Nürnberg, Stroefer Collection

is still basically that of Patinir — before the change that came with P. Bruegel. There is one type of paradise scene which has a special significance for the *Peaceable Kingdom* because in it normally hostile animals are paired in peaceful juxtaposition. They usually have the scene of *The Fall of Man* as their main subject, as in Dürer's engraving of 1504 where a cat and a mouse face each other peaceably. The Chicago Institute of Art owns a charming German picture of *The Fall*, signed A. C. 1544, in which we see a dog and a cat sitting side by side, and a lion lying down next to a stag and a rabbit.

²⁷ For the development of zoological gardens during the Renaissance see G. Loisel, *Histoire des Ménageries*, Paris, 1912, I, 221 ff.

²⁸ To mention just a few such pictures: Savery's *Orpheus* of 1615 and Honthoerter's *Orpheus* of 1624, both in Utrecht; an *Orpheus* called Savery but more likely by a Flemish master in the manner of Jan Brueghel in Detroit. A *Paradise* by Savery of 1626 in Berlin, and several *Paradise* scenes by Jan Brueghel in the Prado and formerly in the collection of Chanoine Barbier, Sale Brussels, 1912. A picture of *St. Anthony of Padua* by an unknown Flemish master, in Madrid, belongs to the same group.

²⁹ The gesture of Adam touching or, in some instances, putting his arm around an animal (Jan Brueghel [the Younger?], *Adam and the Animals*, Madrid; Jan Saenredam, *Adam and the Animals*, engraving after Blaeu-maert), expressing the friendliness between man and beast, is related to Hicks' child putting his arm around a lion. The motive of a child embracing a lion has its own iconographic tradition which I cannot go into here. It is, however, amusing to see that a great contemporary of Hicks, J. W. von Goethe, built around the theme of the pacification of wild animals by music produced by a child one of his few attempts in the field of short stories, the "Novelle." (I owe this reference to Grete Ring).

³⁰ The prominence of the leopard in scenes of Orpheus and of Adam — a prominence which he still has in Hicks' *Peaceable Kingdom* — may have its root in the old belief, popularized through the "Physiologus," that the leopard charms other animals with its sweet breath. It was this belief which explains why the leopard could become a symbol of Christ.

³¹ Published by Silas Andrus, Hartford, 1828 (cf. John Wright, *Early Prayer-books of America*, St. Paul, 1896, p. 381).

³² One of his known copies, that of *Penn's Grave* after H. F. de Cort, was done from the original painting (since 1834 in the Pennsylvania Historical Society) which had been brought to this country by John Penn shortly before 1834. It should also be remembered that Thomas Hicks, after leaving Edward Hicks, went directly to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1837. (*Papers*, Bucks County Hist. Soc., IV (1917), 90. It is also known that Hicks took his pictures to Philadelphia for sale. (Paxson, *op. cit.*, p. 3).

³³ For the popularity which Hicks' pictures of the *Peaceable Kingdom* enjoyed — if not also for his choice of the theme — it was perhaps not without importance that in his time, since 1815 to be exact, there were springing up in America a number of Peace Societies which engaged in a considerable publicistic activity (cf. M. E. Curti, *The American Peace Crusade, 1815-1860*, Durham, 1929). Although the paintings of the *Peaceable Kingdom* would seem to suggest more a messianic than a practical attitude to the problem of peace on the part of Hicks, there is evidence that he was very much aware of contemporary social and political questions, as for instance his sermon of August 19, 1827 (*The Quaker*, p. 207) where the idea of peace is linked up with an expression of anti-slavery feeling.

³⁴ Cf. also Nikolai Michailow, "Zur Begriffsbestimmung der Laienmalerei," *Zeitschrift fuer Kunsts geschichte*, IV (1935), 283; Edith Hoffmann, *Burlington Magazine*, 1946, p. 233 or R. Goldwater, *op. cit.*, p. 143 ff.

³⁵ Edward Hicks, *Memoir of the Life and Religious Labors of Edward Hicks*, Philadelphia, 1851, *passim*. ³⁶ *Memoir*, p. 232.

³⁷ This article was finished in 1949. Since then some additional comments on Hicks have been published which I should like to mention briefly. In *Primitive Painters in America*, New York, 1950, A. E. Bye devotes a chapter to Hicks in which we find, besides the emphasis on Hicks' "primitive point of view . . . unhampered by academic conventions" the statement that "beyond doubt, for his river the painter used Neshaminy Creek, a considerable stream flowing close by Newtown. But he must also have portrayed the Delaware which was but four miles distant." The assumption that Hicks made studies from nature, finding inspiration in the familiar scenes of the near-by country, imputes to the artist methods and motivations which by all available evidence are utterly foreign to him. This point of view is evidently shared by Virgil Barker, whose *American Painting* (New York, 1950) approaches the question of "primitive" art with a refreshingly sane judgment and whose opinion of Hicks in particular is in perfect agreement with the one presented here. I find Barker's reference to Charles Catton's paintings, one of which, "with animals introduced" was owned, as W. Dunlap says, by "my friend Elias Hicks, Esq." particularly intriguing. Barker is mistaken in assuming that this Elias Hicks was Edward's famous cousin, the founder of the Hicksite sect. Dunlap's friend was still alive in 1833 and 1834 while the other Elias Hicks had died in 1830. That does of course not exclude the possibility of Edward Hicks knowing the painting by Catton since it is more than likely that this other Elias Hicks was also a member of the family. On the basis of information kindly provided by Miss Edna Huntington, Librarian of the Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, I conclude that of ten Elias Hicks alive at the time only three can be considered as "candidates" for Dunlap's friend. Their dates are, respectively: 1771-1844; 1779-1860; 1780-1863. The copy of Catton's *Noah's Ark* by Charles Willson Peale was recently on the New York market but it did not seem to me to contribute much to the question. After the abundance of literature on the merits of "primitive" art which has been swamping the reader in recent years it may be permitted to repeat here one of Barker's sentences which to me seems to put the whole problem into proper focus: "In art, innocence of mind is not genius, nor can it be a substitute for genius, however ingratiating it may be in its own limited way."

ADRIAEN VAN DER WERFF

By EDUARD PLIETZSCH

Translated by Liselotte Moser

IS Dutch painting of the end of the seventeenth century tinged with the autumnal feelings of decay and death or does it rather correspond to a belated second bloom? Doubtlessly the period after 1670 produced many unsubstantial paintings with marked traces of decadence. But one must discern whether the weaknesses are to be traced to the general artistic disposition of the time or whether the sad decay is merely an individual sign of feeble old age in the painter in question. The last works of Pieter de Hooch, for instance, are indisputably pitiful products. But this artist, born in 1629, belongs to the preceding generation, as do Jan Steen, Vermeer, Jacob van Ruysdael and other masters, in whose paintings created after 1670 a similar more or less pronounced relaxing of creative power may be felt.

But when a master of this generation of painters, born about 1630-35, remained in full possession of his spiritual potency to the end of his life, as for instance Nicolaes Maes, then superb late works came into existence. For it is a gross fallacy, showing complete misunderstanding of the artistic tendencies of Nicolaes Maes, to condemn the baroque portraits of his old age as regrettable products of decay. In reality they are true and real representations of the spirit and style of their epoch. The vigorous modeling, the assurance of the drawing, the energetic wavy brush stroke, the rich and clean color, the sometimes extremely daring color combinations, the beautifully painted accessories, all this is admirable. The portrayed are characterized individually and convincingly, despite the baroque fancy dress demanded by the fashion of the time.

One may make more than one reproach to that generation of painters which will be discussed here, young in 1670 and active into the eighteenth century, but one has to grant honesty and genuineness to its members. They too manifest the style and convictions of their epoch truly. Is it not proof of modest self-knowledge that these late born artists did not even dare to paint in the spirit of Rembrandt? They were conscious that paintings cold-bloodedly imitating the master's effects would be untimely mongrel works. Dark hued paintings "à la Rembrandt" would have been out of place in the elegant patrician dwellings of the end of the seventeenth century, with their light colored silk walls and their decorative panels in the manner of Jacob de Wit. The enamel-like irri-

descent, decorative cabinet pictures of Verkolje, of Philip van Dijk, Schalcken, Willem van Mieris and so forth, fitted harmoniously into the precious ensemble. Most of the works of these late comers show no traces of diminished technical ability. One is rather tempted to reproach them for over displaying their brilliant virtuosity, especially in drawing and modeling.

Those, then, who do not stubbornly insist on approaching the works of the later generation with the same expectations and demands made upon the art of Rembrandt and Frans Hals, but who try to understand these works within the framework of their own culture, will be able to do justice to the interesting creations of these years of reblossoming. In the following pages we will undertake the revaluation of one of these late masters who has been badly misjudged, Adriaen van der Werff.

Merely for the sake of his representations of society and interiors Van der Werff would indeed hardly deserve rediscovery. Even numerically his bourgeois genre scenes are negligible among his total *oeuvre*. This fact again illustrates the fallacy of comparing the later artists, whose typical motives diverge completely, with the great artists of the bourgeois genre scene. If, for instance, Pieter de Hooch's works contain absolutely no abstract themes, in the catalogue of Hofstede de Groot the allegorical, mythological and religious pictures reach the number of ninety-eight for Godfried Schalcken; 142 for Willem van Mieris. In Van der Werff's work the proportion is completely altered. Of the total of 220 paintings, of which fifty are portraits, only thirty, inclusive of those no longer in existence, are bourgeois genre scenes.

In the very early genre scene of the hunter with a kitchen maid in a window (dated 1678, American private collection, Fig. 1) the nineteen year old painter, despite his thematic dependence upon Leyden prototypes, already has a personal style. The dress of the elegant hunter shows the exaggerated floridness which we encounter often in such pictures. The glittering color, the richly-hued still-life in the manner of Mignon, no longer has anything in common with the palette of his master Eglon van der Neer. The same characteristics may be seen in the picture of two boys at a window, likewise dated 1678, one of whom is also very elegantly dressed (Graf Wachtmeister collection, Vanas). *The Chess Players* in the Gallery at Brunswick, painted the following year since the variant by the artist's own hand in the museum of Schwerin is dated 1679, shows how quickly the youthful artist fell into a disagreeable manner as a bourgeois genre painter, but only as such. The glittering color, the restlessly flickering light and shade contrasts, the voluminous folds of the golden-brown

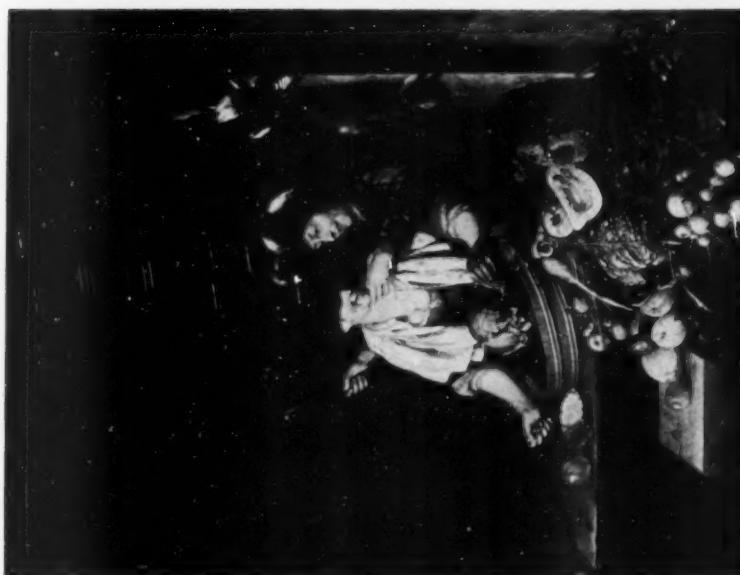


Fig. 1. ADRIAEN VAN DER WERFF, *Maid and Hunter*
Private Collection



Fig. 2. ADRIAEN VAN DER WERFF, *Portrait of a Young Girl*
Formerly Leningrad, P. Durnoff Collection



Fig. 4. ADRIAEN VAN DER WERFF, *Holy Family*
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 3. ADRIAEN VAN DER WERFF
Faun and Nymph
Castel, Gemäldegalerie



Fig. 5. ADRIAEN VAN DER WERFF, *Explosion of Hager*
Munich, Alte Pinakothek

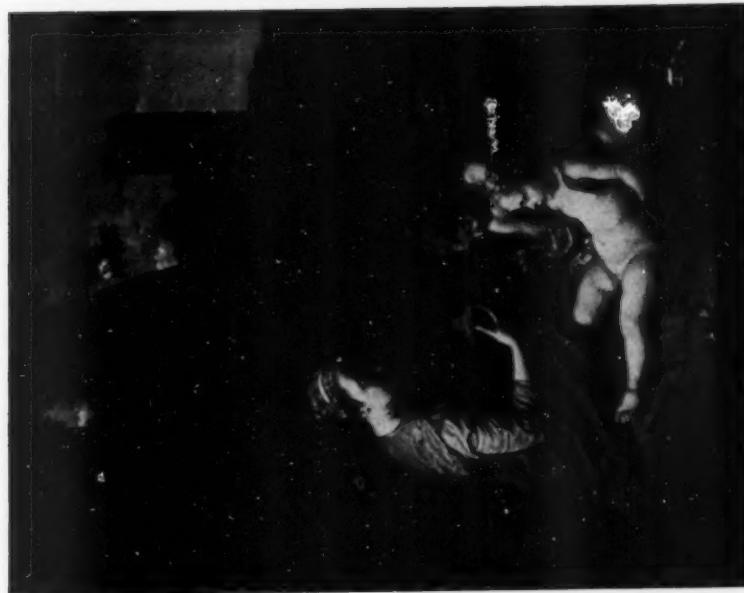


Fig. 6. ADRIAEN VAN DER WERFF, *Holy Family with Bird's Nest*
Munich, Alte Pinakothek



Fig. 7. ADRIAEN VAN DER WERFF, *Arcadian Scene*
Dresden, Gemäldegalerie



Fig. 8. ADRIAEN VAN DER WERFF, *Shepherd Scene*
Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum

satin gown, turn up again with similar exaggerations in the painting from the same epoch in Dresden which depicts *Diogenes with his Lantern*. The picture of *Three Boys Playing Cards* in the Schönborn collection in Vienna, to which some undated scenes with children are closely related (for instance the *Boy with a Mouse Trap* in London), came into being in 1680. Since one of the most charming of child representations, the gracefully composed *Playing Children* in a fantastic Italian landscape (Augsburg Gallery) is dated 1687, one may assume that all Van der Werff's so-called bourgeois genre scenes are works of his youth. In contrast to these slightly decadent creations, the fully signed and dated (1683) *Portrait of a Young Girl* from the former P. Durnoff collection in Leningrad is surprisingly fresh (Fig. 2). Van der Werff's other portraits do not have this unsentimental grace. They conform to the style of the end of the seventeenth century without any outstanding personal marks.

But the artist shows himself to be a master of high rank in his arcadian, religious and mythological pictures, which he created from his twenty-fifth year until his death. They typify the high standard which Dutch painting preserved in many cases in that epoch which is generally condemned as one of deterioration. Van der Werff's life itself is typical for those Dutch painters who gained international fame at the end of the seventeenth century.

Adriaen van der Werff, born in 1659, was the son of a wealthy miller in the Rotterdam suburb of Kralinger-Ambacht. After having had drawing lessons in childhood from the Rotterdam portrait painter Cornelis Picolet, he became the pupil of Eglon Hendrick van der Neer from his twelfth to his seventeenth year. From 1676 onwards the rapidly successful young artist worked in Rotterdam, where in 1687 he married the daughter of a respectable sail maker. The young couple moved into a house which, to judge from the extensive decorative paintings executed for it, must have been rather substantial. The Cassel Gallery preserves some of these works which Van der Werff sold when he acquired a still more magnificent house with a beautiful garden, three charming ceiling paintings with flying *putti* and flora with genii, as well as the splendid wall painting *Faun and Nymph* (Fig. 3).

The career of the painter was decisively influenced by the visit of the elector Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz in the year 1696. This great patron of the arts visited the painter in his studio and was so enthusiastic about his work that he paid him a large fixed salary to work for him six months of the year, later nine. A move into the princely residence at Düsseldorf was accommodately not insisted upon. For the elector, apart from portraits Van der Werff created the

grandiose series of sixteen religious compositions, which later reached the Munich Pinakothek, and numerous other paintings which the patron presented to his princely friends. The painter himself was given silver and jewels, raised to the hereditary nobility and dubbed a knight. In 1709 he was visited by Duke Anton Ulrich of Braunschweig; in 1710 by King August II of Poland. Van der Werff died in 1722 in Rotterdam, which he never left for any length of time, after being ill for years.

Despite his being sought out by dukes and kings, the artist never was a "painter prince" in the style of Rubens, Titian and Velásquez. He remained in Rotterdam as a citizen who had gained solid wealth by the work of his hands, and was honored with civic and cultural dignities. His simple mode of life, his amiable character, made the man who, towards the end of his life became deeply religious, generally liked.

Three times Van der Werff traveled to Düsseldorf for professional reasons. It is rather singular that he was never tempted to visit Paris or Rome, the more so as his portraits are reminiscent of French art and his other masterpieces of the art of the South. For instance the *Holy Family* with the child reaching for a twig of cherries in Joseph's hand (dated 1714, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) (Fig. 4) in its lovely grace makes us think of Federico Barocci, whose works Van der Werff perhaps knew since the paintings of the distinguished Italian were widely circulated in the North by means of copies and imitations. The beautiful nudes and half-nudes of many Van der Werff compositions, in their statuesque poses and draperies which look as if sculptured in marble, remind us of Bernini. At the same time their classicism seems like a foretaste of the art of Canova. In the *Expulsion of Hagar*, created in Munich in 1701 (Fig. 5), how noble in bearing and form is the back view of Hagar with the flowing lines of the clothes.

One may belittle the favor of the elector Johann Wilhelm as a mere modish fad, though his select collections form the basis of the Munich Pinakothek; and one may not wish to make much of the fact that in the eighteenth century many of Van der Werff's works reached the Dresden Gallery and from the collection of Sir Gregory Page in Greenwich came to Louis XVI and the Louvre; but that Frederick the Great, besides the masterpieces of French art selected with such instinctive taste, also purchased more than a dozen paintings by Van der Werff must seem significant; and the admiration of poets, painters and humanistically cultivated savants in the time of Goethe should give food for thought.

The clarity and precision of the drawing, the grace of line, the plasticity of form in Van der Werff's pictures naturally exclude spirited brushwork and painteresque conception. Those who would demand a coloristic experience from these creations would act illogically. Dull blue, dull yellow, pink, lavender, gold, brownish-red, apple-green, moss-green, and other undecided changeable colors applied without blemish, form the essential part of Adriaen van der Werff's palette, and the chief charm of his works is certainly not due to them. But it suffices to single out some figure, for instance the half-naked shepherdess seen from the back in the small *Shepherd Scene* of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Fig. 8) (replica by the artist's own hand in the Wallace collection in London), to become conscious of the elegant mastery of our painter. The delicately molded back with the outstretched arm is charmingly seen and rendered; the hair with its flowers and the flowing shoulder scarf are beautifully given form.

Van der Werff's most perfect works are those harmoniously composed groups which represent tranquil scenes, like the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, the *Holy Family*, or arcadian scenes without any of the more violent passions. Spiritually, it is true, there is hardly much difference between the young Madonna with bared bosom and the naked Christ Child, and the Venus to whom *Amor* clings. As soon as Van der Werff tries particularly to represent dramatic happenings, he stumbles and slips. In the Leningrad *Expulsion from Paradise* (dated 1700) his attempt to express the fright and wonder of Adam and Eve failed. The fleeing couple's gaze and gestures are theatrical in effect. The bacchanal scene of the *Prodigal Son among Prostitutes* (Potsdam, Picture Gallery) is represented by a heaving medley of nudes, any one of which might separately have formed the model for some capricious porcelain group. In the Dresden version of the *Expulsion of Hagar* the interrelation between the two boys seems overobtrusive. Six years later, in the classical version at Munich, the painter in judicious recognition of the limits of his talent, represented Ismael in a back view as he hides his face, while Isaac can hardly be made out in the *clair-obscur* of the background (Fig. 5).

The decorative painting *Faun and Nymph* in Cassel (Fig. 3) must have come into existence in 1687 or soon after, for it was used as a wall decoration in the house in Rotterdam purchased in that year. The small, closely related *Arcadian Scene* in Dresden (Fig. 7) is dated 1689. It is a pity that not more such bucolic pictures are preserved from this period. In them the art of our master is at its best. The shimmering light, the gay colors, the grace of the life-

size figures in the Cassel composition form an enchanting chord. The radiant Dresden work reflects the same sunny gaiety and touches the spectator with a premonition of Boucher's art.

The religious, arcadian and mythological paintings, with blended enamel-like paint and muted colors, were created from 1685, at the earliest, without interruption until the death of the master. The *Finding of Moses* in the Louvre, created in 1722, shows no deterioration of artistic power despite the physical illness of the artist. Therefore feebler works which pass under the name of Adriaen van der Werff must be examined sceptically, especially when they are not signed. For, beside Jan van Goyen, Aert van der Neer and Paulus Potter, who always signed their paintings, Adriaen van der Werff, like Philips Wouwerman, is one of a small group of Dutch painters who almost always signed their works. Many mediocre paintings are works of Adriaen's brother, pupil and co-worker, Pieter van der Werff, not to mention compromising imitations by lesser painters.

Among the paintings of the last period there are such perfect creations as the *Dancing Lesson* in a sunny Southern landscape, dated 1718 and the reclining *Venus with Amor*, both at the Rijksmuseum. It must be admitted that in many cases the positions of the female nudes are not free of academic pose, and that the naked men with their bloated forms seem rather unattractive. Such instances may be found in the *Dancing Nymphs* (Louvre), technically without blemish; in the *Judgment of Paris* (Dresden); and in the *Caressing Couple*, painted as early as 1694 (Rijksmuseum). Many biblical representations are of high perfection. One may cite the *Flight into Egypt* (1710, the Hague, Mauritshuis); the Dresden *Annunciation* (dated 1718); the *Holy Family* with a bird's nest (dated 1715, Munich) (Fig. 6); and single out the very beautiful *Visitation* from the cycle created for the elector Johann Wilhelm (dated 1708, Munich). In these and similar compositions the chief figures form rounded groups in the foreground. The lovely figures of the women and children, in the clarity of their contours and the finesse of the modeling produce a sculptural effect. The slender forms seem firm and delicate at the same time, since the slanting light softens and counteracts the cold plasticity. The accessory figures are plunged into the half-shade of the middle ground, whilst the background contains some classical architecture reminding one of Gérard de Lairesse, or a distant landscape of hills and ruins. These landscapes play a subordinate role and do not help to create a mood.

When one thinks of the happy impression left by the more amiable of Van

der Werff's creations in the galleries of renowned museums—or rather in their storages and provincial depots where most of them are banished for being "slick, sweetish, empty and lascivious degenerations"—an expression of Goethe's comes to mind, written not upon the art of our master but upon that of Wieland: "The element of lasciviousness, in which he knows how to behave so gracefully and intimately, would be the ruin of many." One also thinks of that other remark of Goethe's to the effect that the faults and defects of their century cling even to the greatest artists. Since the highly gifted Van der Werff certainly cannot be counted among the greatest artists, he was all the more subject to the laws of the style around the turn of the seventeenth century, with all their advantages and defects. But that he sensed and understood the signs of his time does him credit. Having had great success in his youth with the customary bourgeois society paintings, he might have continued in the worn grooves and have added some hundreds to the thousands of dentists, lutists, bobbin-lace makers and mothers at the cradle then in existence, as many late comers did until the nineteenth century. Van der Werff saw that these things had had their day. He saw that even the most brilliant technique could not add new charms to these exhausted themes. Together with a few light and gracious paintings by Metsu, some elegantly arranged terrace paintings by Jan Steen, the decorative port and fountain scenes of Nicolaes Berchem and Jan Baptist Weenix, and the ingenious art of Philips Wouwerman, Van der Werff's paintings point to the future. His best creations are forerunners of the art of the rococo. In some cases they point beyond it toward the classicism at the end of the eighteenth century.

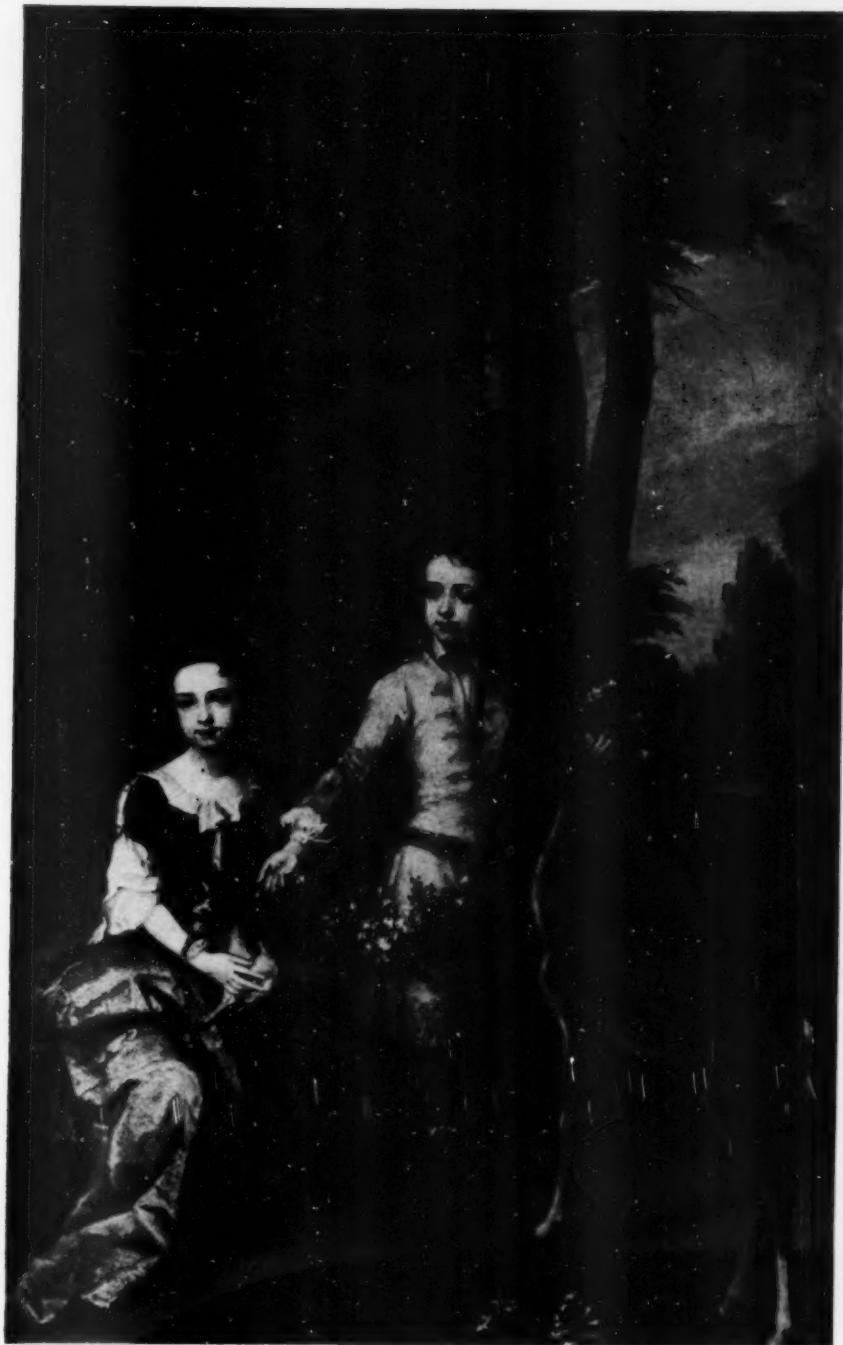
SHORTER NOTES:

MEZZOTINT SOURCES OF AMERICAN COLONIAL PORTRAITS

By FREDERICK A. SWEET

COLONIAL American craftsmen, despite their ingenuity and resourcefulness, would have found difficulty in following the trends of English fashion, albeit somewhat tardily, if it had not been for certain very useful aids. Standard European books on architecture and later the more humble carpenters' and builders' guides were a constant inspiration to our architects and builders. Cabinetmakers and silversmiths had their pattern books to help them follow the general trends of English styles. Likewise the dressmakers not only imported fashion prints but also had mannikins, about half life-size, fully dressed to show their clients the latest London fashions.

Portrait painters, anxious to keep up with current styles of dress as well as with elegant poses and impressive backgrounds, found a rich source in mezzotints and engravings done after English portraits. Between 1725 and 1735 an anonymous Hudson Valley artist painted seven portraits of the Van Cortlandt children and their first cousins the De Peyster children. Such elaboration of pose with formal architectural setting and the frequent presence of animals suggests an echo of the style of Sir Godfrey Kneller. This source is easily demonstrated by comparing the portrait of John van Cortlandt (Brooklyn Museum) (Fig. 2) with Kneller's portrait of *Lord Buckhurst and Lady Mary Sackville His Sister* (Knole, Kent) (Fig. 1), from which a mezzotint was made in 1695 by John Smith. There can be no doubt that the Hudson Valley limner had access to this mezzotint. In the *De Peyster Boy with Deer* (New-York Historical Society) (Fig. 3) he varied the same theme and probably had other prints, not yet identified, as his source for the rest of the children's portraits. John Smith's mezzotint of Lord Buckhurst and Lady Mary Sackville is done in reverse, so quite naturally the Van Cortlandt portrait is also in reverse



*Fig. 1. SIR GODFREY KNELLER, The Lord Buckhurst and Lady Mary Sackville His Sister
Knole, Kent*



Fig. 2. *Anonymous American Artist, John van Cortlandt*
Brooklyn Museum



Fig. 3. *Anonymous American Artist, The De Peyster Boy with Deer*
New-York Historical Society

since the American artist followed the print. Despite the provincial style, the Hudson Valley painter has kept remarkably close to his model. He omitted the flowers and floral garland and simplified the costume; the girl is of course left out as his problem was that of doing the single figure of a boy. Much as we might like to imagine that the Van Cortlands kept pet deer on their lawns beside the Hudson, this possibility fades in the presence of the Kneller painting. It seems that the New York artist combined elements from more than one print, for John's costume derives from the boy in Kneller's *Sixth Earl of Mar and His Son* (Alloa, Clackmannanshire).

In the *De Peyster Boy with Deer* the artist has used the same landscape and the same pose for the boy but his costume is more elaborate, the rusticated wall has been simplified and the step on which the boy stands has a double instead of a single curve.

We gain some insight into the traffic in prints from the letters of John Smibert who wrote to Arthur Pond, his artist-agent in London March 24, 1743-44, saying in part: "I had the favour of yours by Capt. Anstill with the Virtu Cargo and bill. the other things in good order. for your care of which and present of the prints I am much your debtor. You know I was always fond of Landships so that you could not have sent anything more to my taste . . ."¹ Later in the letter he asks for various artists' supplies and "A set of ships published by Lempiere and sold by H. Toms in Union Court, Holburn. These ships I want some times for to be in a distant view in Portraits of Merch[an]ts etc who chuse such . . ."²

This indicates not only the specialized use of prints as a source of accurate details for various types of ships but also shows what was undoubtedly a wide practice of using landscape prints as an inspiration for portrait backgrounds. One cannot help but wonder whether many of the "landships" listed in the inventories of several artists' estates (including Smibert's own) may not have been just such imported landscape prints as these.

In the hands of our most accomplished Colonial painter, John Singleton Copley, the use of English mezzotints becomes of primary importance. In 1915 the Metropolitan Museum acquired Copley's portrait of *Mrs. Jerathmael Bowers* which Bryson Burroughs published in their *Bulletin* for January, 1916. Shortly after that an unsigned *Bulletin* note (presumably also written by Mr. Burroughs)³ drew attention to the fact that Copley had made use of a mezzotint by James McArdell after Sir Joshua Reynolds' portrait of *Lady Caroline Russell*. This was as far as can be ascertained the first definite instance of

tracing the composition of a Colonial American portrait to a European print. John Hill Morgan⁴ in 1937 published the portrait of Mrs. Bowers and the McArdell mezzotint side by side permitting this visual comparison to be made. He emphasized further the fact that Copley made frequent use of prints after portraits by foreign artists but offered no additional instances as proof.

Copley's portrait of *Mrs. John Amory* (Fig. 4) was the subject of research into English antecedents when it came to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, as part of the M. and M. Karolik Collection. The portrait had been inherited by Mrs. Karolik (Martha Codman) from the Amory family but had not been the subject of careful study until publicly shown at the Museum.

In 1942 Charles Cunningham⁵ called attention to the fact that the portrait of Mrs. Amory derived from an English prototype purporting to represent Henrietta Howard, later Countess of Suffolk,⁶ attributed to Ramsay (?). The picture hangs in Charlton Park, Wiltshire. Mr. Cunningham suggested quite rightly that the portrait was probably wrongly identified and that Knpton or Hudson might be the artist. On page 638 of the same volume of *Country Life* under "Correspondence" is a letter from Mr. A. S. Hubbard of Auburndale, Mass., stating that the so-called Allan Ramsay portrait was to his mind painted by Copley. As evidence he submitted a photograph of Copley's *Mrs. Daniel Hubbard* (Fig. 5) which is almost identical in pose. *Country Life*'s Editor remarked in a footnote that, as the Countess of Suffolk died in 1767, Copley (who did not leave Boston until 1774) could not possibly have painted her portrait. He offered as explanation of the similarity that "the bodies were painted in each case by the same 'drapery man' or the pose and details were copied from a common original," and did not seem to realize the more obvious solution to the problem. Careful checking of all known engraved portraits of Henrietta Howard, later Countess of Suffolk, celebrated mistress of George II, shows no resemblance whatsoever to the portrait at Charlton Park.

Obviously the portrait had been wrongly identified, beyond the certain fact of its being English. In any case a mezzotint done after it had unquestionably been Copley's source not only for his portraits of *Mrs. John Amory* and *Mrs. Daniel Hubbard* but also for a third portrait, *Mrs. John Murray*, dated 1763 (Fig. 6). The availability of such prints is indicated by a notice in *The Boston News-Letter* for April 23, 1762,⁷ which reads in part as follows: "Just imported in the Pitt Pacquet, and to be sold by Rivington & Miller, at the London Book Store, Head of King Street, Boston. *The London Magazine* for the month of October and November, the Court and City Register for 1762...

a very great Collection of Pictures, containing all the celebrated and reigning Beauties in Britain: all the Statesmen, Generals and Admirals, that have distinguished themselves in this War: framed and gilded in the most elegant and neat Manner. Also, Large and Splendid Views of some of the most remarkable places in North America; and of the most magnificent Palaces and Gardens in England."

Here indeed was a course which Copley may have taken advantage of to a generous extent. Not only could he find Britain's "Beauties" but also views to help him with his backgrounds. So many of his portraits, beginning with Mrs. Daniel Rogers, dated 1762, and continuing through the rest of his Boston period show accessories, unusual costumes and fanciful backgrounds which must have been based on prints. As the portrait of Mrs. Murray is dated 1763 and the portrait of Daniel Hubbard is dated 1764 (presumably painted at about the same time as his wife's) it is quite possible that Copley acquired a mezzotint at the Rivington and Miller sale in 1762 on which he based the three similar compositions after the portrait at Charlton Park.

Thanks to the investigations of Mr. C. K. Adams, Assistant Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery in London, this portrait has now been identified as Mary, Viscountess Andover, by Thomas Hudson. She was born March 1, 1719, the daughter of Heneage Finch, Second Earl of Aylesford, and married William, Lord Andover, son of Henry, First Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire. She died in 1805.

The portrait was engraved⁸ by John Faber, Jr., in 1746 (Fig. 7). Unquestionably an impression of this mezzotint was in the hands of John Singleton Copley at least as early as 1763. The fact that he made good use of the print is attested by the three surviving portraits which are based on it. Only one is dated, Mrs. John Murray, which was done in 1763. This is very likely the first of the three to be painted and is curiously enough the least close in following the Faber mezzotint. At the upper left, drapery and a column are replaced by a covered urn. At the right a window is opened to a landscape view instead of the conventional cloud background. There are no objects on the table and the headdress is simplified. Mrs. Murray (Lucretia Chandler) was a great beauty, the daughter of Judge Chandler of Worcester and one of four wives of John Murray.

As Copley painted the portrait of Daniel Hubbard in 1764 and presumably did the pendant of his wife at about the same time, this would place Mrs. Hubbard's portrait perhaps a year after the portrait of Mrs. Murray. Mrs.

Hubbard's portrait follows the mezzotint with amazing accuracy. Slight differences are that she wears a *collier* around her neck, the leather-bound book has been omitted from the table and there is no charcoal stick in her right hand. Copley was well known to Mrs. Hubbard's family, for about 1756 he had painted her father, Thomas Greene, and her stepmother, Martha Coit Hubbard, a widow, whose son Daniel she married in 1757.

Copley's third use of the Faber mezzotint was for Mrs. Hubbard's first cousin, Mrs. John Amory. This is not dated but we can assume a date as we know that Copley issued a bill to John Amory, her husband, in 1768 for £14 "To his own portrait half length."¹⁹ His wife's portrait is so close in style to that of her cousin Mrs. Hubbard that it may have been done a little earlier than the portrait of her husband. In 1760 Copley had painted Mrs. Amory's parents, Rufus Greene (brother of Thomas) and Katherine Stanbridge Greene. Mrs. Amory's portrait is also very close to the Faber mezzotint, although she wears a double lace ruffle and all the objects have been left off the table. Could it be that she was so impressed by Copley's portrait of her pretty young cousin Mrs. Hubbard that she wanted one just like it? Perhaps, too, the fact that the handsome Mrs. Murray had selected this pose may have had some influence on the other ladies.

Even though Copley is following an engraving which is conceived in terms of line and tone, he succeeds in transforming this into a completely painterly conception in his portraits. It is difficult to understand how he could achieve such texture in the silk dresses and lace trimming without having actual dresses made with the mezzotint as a model. One wonders whether he could have lent engravings to his lady patrons so that they could have their dressmakers fashion gowns for them after the model whose pose they are going to assume in their portraits. No doubt the patrons themselves often purchased prints which they took to the artist to use as a model for a pose. Copley certainly had actual lace in front of him, for he painted the ruffles with such meticulous detail that they can actually be identified as Mechlin, a type of Flemish bobbin lace. Although the lace pattern varies slightly in each of the three portraits, they all differ considerably from the Faber engraving where the pattern is very indistinct. The dresses are all practically identical but their colors differ, a fact which suggests that Copley was working from actual materials. All three ladies are painted in a very solid, three-dimensional manner and their voluminous gowns seem to stand out in a clearly defined space, unlike the rather flat aspect of the Faber print. This implies the actual presence of his sitters dressed in a model gown



Fig. 4. JOHN SINGLETON COBLEY
Mrs. John Amory
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts



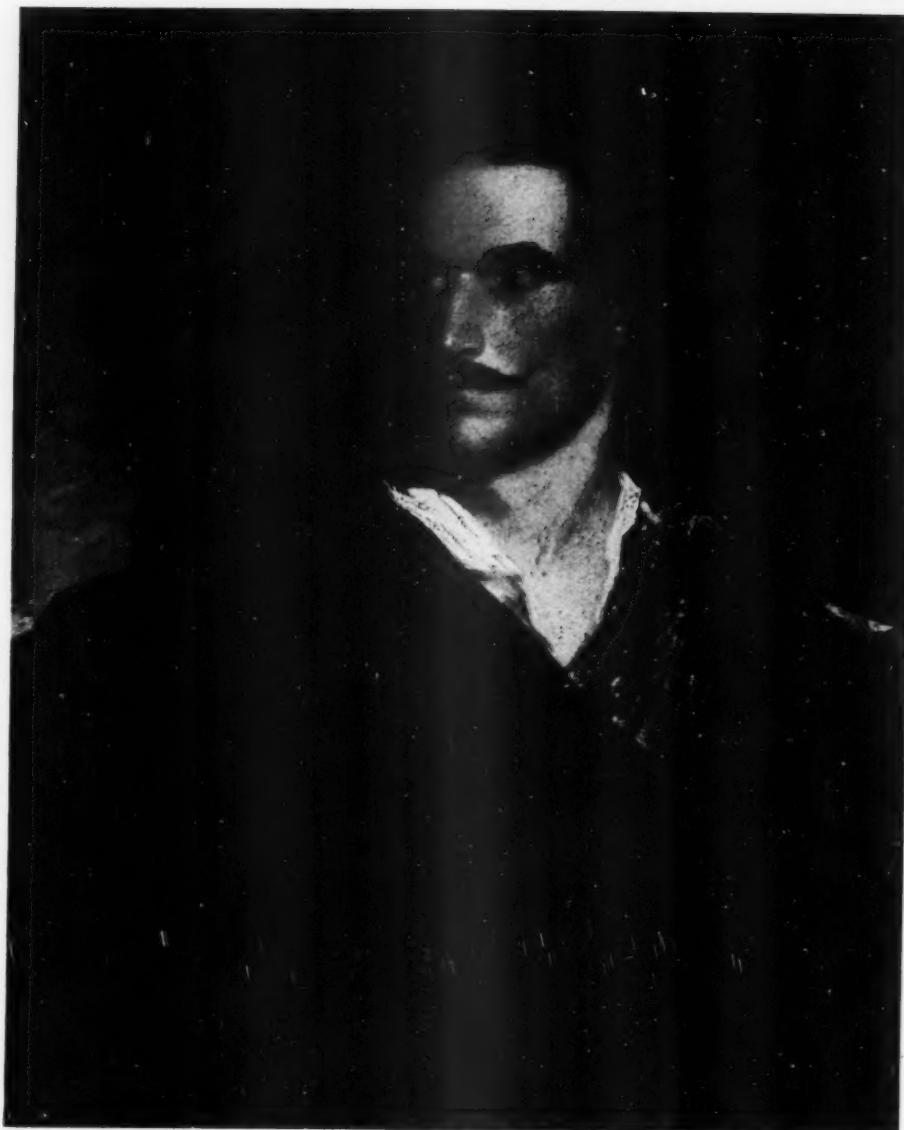
Fig. 5. JOHN SINGLETON COBLEY
Mrs. Daniel Hubbard
Art Institute of Chicago



Fig. 6. JOHN SINGLETON COBLEY
Mrs. John Murray
Boston, H. Daland Chandler Collection



Fig. 7. *The Right Honorable Mary Viscountess Andover* (mezzotint by John Faber after the painting by Thomas Hudson)



*Fig. 1. WILLIAM EDWARD WEST, Edward John Trelawny
Detroit, Miss P. Trelawny*

and could not have been achieved if he had merely copied the entire mezzotint except for the head, filling in the face on a stock body like a nineteenth century itinerant portrait painter. The background of the portraits, however, is flat and purely decorative, just the effect one would expect from copying a print. Lady Andover's rather vapid, bored face is replaced by the individual visages of three stalwart Boston ladies of character. Copley's genius lay in being able to copy the exterior aspects of a print and at the same time transform them into a completely new creation. Even the repetition of a model three times does not become tedious, for each one has such individuality.

¹ Henry Wilder Foote, *John Singleton Copley*, Cambridge, 1950, p. 87.

² *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³ The Metropolitan Museum of Art *Bulletin*, XI, No. 3 (March, 1916), 76.

⁴ John Hill Morgan, "Some Notes on John Singleton Copley," *Antiques*, XXXI, No. 3, 116-118.

⁵ Charles C. Cunningham, "The Karolik Collection—Some Notes on Copley," *Art in America*, XXX, No. 1, 26-35.

⁶ English *Country Life*, LXXIV, 425.

⁷ Quoted from facsimile copy in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁸ John Chaloner Smith, *British Mezzotint Portraits*, London, 1894, I, 302.

⁹ Barbara Neville Parker and Anne Bolling Wheeler, *John Singleton Copley*, Boston, 1938, p. 33.

N.B. Photograph of Figure 2 through the courtesy of The British Museum; Figure 6, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Figure 7, National Portrait Gallery, London.

E. J. TRELAWNY BY WILLIAM EDWARD WEST

By E. P. RICHARDSON

ONE of the most interesting romantic portraits in the exhibition of "Travelers in Arcadia, American Artists in Italy, 1830-1875" held this winter at the Detroit Institute of Arts and the Toledo Museum of Art, represented *Edward John Trelawny* (Fig. 1), the friend of Shelley and Byron and author of *Adventures of a Younger Son*. This portrait, a canvas $27\frac{1}{2} \times 21\frac{3}{4}$ inches, has come down in the family of the sitter and is now in the possession of his great-grandniece Miss P. Trelawny of Detroit. A paper label on the back of the canvas relining records the family tradition. It reads: *Edward John Trelawny / second son of Colonel Charles Brereton Trelawny / and Maria, sister of Sir Christopher Hawkins Br. / He was the author of "The Younger Son" / "Recollections of Shelley and Byron." / After Shelley was drowned in the Gulf of / Spezzia E. J. Trelawny burnt his body. / He died Aug. 13, 1881. Aged 88 / Painted by West an American.* By a quite natural supposition "West an American" was interpreted by the family to mean Ben-

jamin West and the portrait was reproduced as such in Margaret Armstrong's *Trelawny* (1940).¹

Although it is conceivable that Trelawny may have met Benjamin West and his sons in London after his return from the Indian Ocean in 1812, when he spent eight years in England, the portrait itself bears no resemblance to Benjamin West's style. It is a romantic portrait of mood, dramatic in pose and contrast of tone, free and painterly in touch, executed in a warm resonant palette. All the evidence of style as well as the historical evidence points to another American romantic painter, William Edward West, now almost entirely forgotten. The only twentieth century accounts of this later West seem to be two essays by N. P. Dunn, "Unknown Pictures of Shelley" in the *Century Magazine* (October, 1905, pp. 909-917) and "An Artist of the Past, William Edward West and his Friends at Home and Abroad" in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* (September, 1907, pp. 658-669). A comparison of the portrait of *Trelawny* with W. E. West's known portraits of *Byron*, *Shelley*, *William H. Prescott* and *Felicia Hemans*² shows a striking identity of style. Such historical evidence as we have also points to the probability that the portrait was painted by West in Leghorn or Pisa in the days immediately before the drowning of Shelley.

William Edward West was born in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1788, when that must have been still wild country. He found his way eastward across the mountains, however, to study painting with Sully in Philadelphia. This was presumably in the second decade of the nineteenth century, shortly before he turns up at Natchez in 1818-19, working as a portrait painter and saving money for further study. In the latter part of 1819 he sailed for Le Havre; in January, 1820, he arrived at Florence and enrolled in the Accademia delle Belle Arti. In 1822 he received a commission from the Academy of Fine Arts in New York to paint a portrait of Lord Byron, who was then staying at the Villa Rossa at Montenero near Leghorn with the Gambas and the Countess Guiccioli. Byron was at this time well disposed toward Americans and even was toying with the notion of taking refuge in America, so that when West presented himself at Leghorn in June of 1822 he was well received. Byron made arrangements for West to drive daily out to the Villa Rossa to work on the portrait and shortly after, pleased with West's work, asked him to paint the Countess Guiccioli also. After a few days the Gambas were involved in a street brawl and were ordered to leave Tuscany. West accompanied them and Byron to Pisa, where he remained a few days to complete his portraits, then returned to Florence. Thus he happened into the circle of Byron, Shelley and Trelawny in the weeks im-

mediately before Shelley's death on July 8, 1822. During that brief intimacy he made a quick drawing of Shelley one afternoon, from which he later painted a portrait. It seems almost certain that he painted Trelawny also at this time.

West's own account of painting Byron and the Countess Guiccioli appeared after Byron's death in Colburn's *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* (1826); Moore drew upon this for his *Life of Byron* and reproduced an engraving of the portrait. His account of meeting Shelley was preserved by West's family and retold by Dunn.³ There is no mention of Trelawny in either narrative. But a portrait of Trelawny by him was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1829⁴ and Claire Clairmont, writing at a later date to Mary Shelley, mentions a portrait of Trelawny by West.⁵ Some corroborative evidence for dating the portrait in 1822 may be derived from the portrait itself. Leigh Hunt arrived at Leghorn on June 29, 1822, as he supposed to take charge of a new review to be supported by Byron and Shelley. "In the harbor of Leghorn," he wrote in his *Autobiography*, "I found Mr. Trelawny, of the old Cornish family of that name, since known as the author of the *Younger Brother*. He was standing with his knight-errant aspect, dark, handsome, and mustachioed, in Lord Byron's boat, the *Bolivar*, of which he had taken charge for his lordship." This sounds, certainly, like a description of Trelawny as he appears here.

West and Trelawny are not known to have met again after West's stay in Leghorn and Pisa, although we cannot exclude the possibility that they may have met in London after 1828. West seems to have returned to Florence before Shelley and his friend Williams set sail across the Gulf of Spezzia on July 8, for he makes no reference in his reminiscences to being on the spot at the time of the accident. Byron and Trelawny remained on the coast during their preparations for the expedition to Greece in 1823. After Byron died at Missolonghi Trelawny spent four years of fighting and adventure in Greece before he returned to London briefly in 1828, then wandered off to Italy again.

The presumption is that we see Trelawny here as he appeared to Shelley during that winter at Pisa, when he inspired Shelley to write the *Fragments of an Unfinished Drama* in which Trelawny appears as "the Pirate, a man of savage and noble nature."

"He was as is the sun in his fierce youth,
As terrible and lovely as a tempest."

The portrait is thus a document for one of the most dramatic moments of Eng-

lish romantic literature. There is no more vivid account of that moment than Trelawny's *Recollections of Byron and Shelley*.

West left Italy in 1824 for Paris. From 1825 to 1838 he lived in London, where he seems to have had some success as a portrait painter and where he formed a romantic attachment with Felicia Hemans. In 1838 he recrossed the Atlantic to Baltimore. From 1840 to 1855 he lived in New York, painting chiefly portraits in cabinet size. In 1855 he went to Nashville, Tennessee, where the remnants of his family were living, and died there November 2, 1857. After his death a sale took place at his studio and a portfolio of 300 portrait heads were sold to a drawing-master for fifty dollars. Where are they now? So few of his works are known today that his name is all but forgotten.

¹ E. P. Richardson and Otto Wittmann, Jr., *Travelers in Arcadia, American Artists in Italy, 1830-1875*, 1951, no. 94. It is also reproduced in R. Glynn Grylls' *Claire Clairmont*, 1939, p. 144.

² Reproduced by Dunn in *Putnams*, as well as another portrait, somewhat dubiously identified as *Rebecca Gratz*, but close to this *Trelawny* in style.

³ Dunn, *Century Magazine*, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy Exhibitors*, 1906, VIII, 224.

⁵ This letter is twice quoted by R. Glynn Grylls, in *Claire Clairmont*, 1939, p. 143, and in *Trelawny*, 1950, pp. 73-74. In neither reference is the date of the letter given.

RECENT IMPORTANT
ACQUISITIONS
OF AMERICAN COLLECTIONS



PIETER BRUEGEL THE ELDER, *The Battle Between Carnival and Lent* (360x635 mm.)
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

THE BATTLE BETWEEN CARNIVAL AND LENT

From an article by Hanns Swarzenski in the February, 1951,
Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

The licensed, though often rather excessive plays, performed during the season of Shrove-tide, are well known and so are the paintings representing allegories of Carnival and Lent. The most famous representation of the theme, preserved in the original, is *The Combat of Carnival and Lent* by Pieter Bruegel the Elder in the Vienna State Gallery. Painted in 1559, it is his earliest oil painting with a signature and a date that cannot be questioned.

Hulin de Loo and René van Bastelaer, in their standard work on Bruegel, have published another painting, representing *The Battle between Carnival and Lent* in the collection of Baron Joly (now at the Château du Baesveld, Zedelgreen near Bruges), as a copy by the younger Pieter Bruegel after a lost original of the father. Gustav Glück and Charles de Tolnay accepted the attribution but not the theory that the composition reflects an original invention of the older Bruegel. De Tolnay even sees in the picture only an inferior copy of the younger Bruegel after the central group in Vienna. The assumption, however, seems hardly convincing. Of course, the picture is but a rather poor copy work, and in the unorganic and petty rendering of the street scene in the background one might easily suspect an addition of the younger Pieter. However, a comparison with the Vienna picture most clearly shows that both compositions are independent original inventions representing two entirely different moods of conception. True, the types and paraphernalia of the mummery are partly the same as in the Vienna picture.

But the spatial relation between figures and background and the diagonal arrangement of the opponents are entirely different.

That the Joly *Carnival* represents indeed an independent composition, which must have been almost as popular as the one in Vienna, can also be inferred from a Flemish(?) drawing in Oxford done in the late seventeenth century. The same composition in a different setting occurs also on a panel in the collection of Baron Coppée in Brussels, once attributed to the Antwerp painter Pieter Huys. Furthermore, Pieter Bruegel the Younger, in his many copies and clever exploitations of his father's work, almost never dared to introduce major changes or to paraphrase his successful compositions. The copies are faithfully correct but pedantic and dry. On the other hand we know that Bruegel the Elder often treated his famous themes several times in different sizes and with considerable variations. Furthermore, it is by no means certain whether his *Carnival* picture, recorded in Carel van Mander, refers to the Vienna panel or to another *Carnival* picture, perhaps the one which has come down to us in the Joly copy. However this may be, there is no evidence offered contradicting Hulin de Loo's and Bastelaer's theory that the picture of the Joly collection is a copy of an original work by the older Bruegel.

On the contrary, the correctness of this theory can now be established beyond any question, for the Museum has had the good fortune to acquire an unknown painting by Pieter Bruegel the Elder which proves to be the original on which the Joly *Carnival* and the other copies mentioned above are based. Size and composition are identical; only the background with the street scene, which we believe to be a free addition by the younger Pieter, is changed into a simple grayish-brown city wall which on the right (the side of Lent and the Friars) suggests the front of a Gothic church. And the nun, the personification

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RICHARD WILSON, *Landscape* (H. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ "; W. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ ")
Buffalo, Albright Art Gallery

of Lent, does not wear stockings but shows her bare leg.

When in 1946 the picture made its first public appearance at an auction sale at Robinson and Foster in London, it was heavily overpainted and had the spurious signature of P. Brueghel and the date 1579, added perhaps by some former owner or restorer of the panel who thought it to be the work of the younger Bruegel. Nobody at this time would have suspected in it the hand of the older Bruegel who died in 1569. But when the panel had been cleaned, not only the signature was washed off completely but under the heavy overpaint appeared the original brushwork and the original color with extraordinary freshness and delicacy. Now the various shades and transitions of brownish-yellow, brownish-gray, and brownish-violet betray the subtlety of a true painter. The barrels, the dice, and the egg-shell, which were as flat as those in the copy of the Joly collection, display the same outspoken sense for the roundness and the cubic quality of the object that is so characteristic of the older Bruegel.

The picture is painted with extremely thin glazes. Indeed, the color is in parts so thinly applied that it seemed advisable, especially in the reds of the trousers of Carnival and the cowl of the monk pushing Lent, to leave some of the overpaint in order not to rub off the original coat of paint. Nevertheless, the painting still has the same directness and spontaneity as an oil sketch by Rubens, where also some forms are solidly modeled in an enamel-like color, while others are only slightly suggested. As a matter of fact, the black and white of the headcloth of Lent is painted in a way that is only to be found again in the work of Rubens. That one is reminded of Rubens in front of the picture is no mere chance. He was an admirer and collector of Bruegel; his inventory lists no less than five of Bruegel's works, and to a certain degree he was influenced by him.



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JOHN WESLEY JARVIS, *Portrait of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry (H. 31 1/4"; W. 26")*
Detroit Institute of Arts

Despite such unexpected and surprising anticipations, the painting as a whole betrays in its technique as well as in its iconography the direct influence of Jerome Bosch. "Gheprac-tiseert nae de handelinge van Ieroom van den Bosch," Carel van Mander says of him. However, the date of the Boston *Carnival* and its chronological relationship to the Vienna picture of 1559 are not easy to establish. Certainly manifold artistic connections with Bosch suggest an early origin, as do several motives familiar to us from other works of the older Bruegel done about 1557. But one has to realize that our knowledge of the early artistic activity and development of Pieter Bruegel is entirely based on his drawings and prints done between 1552 and 1556, since no paintings are recorded or preserved from this period. Leaving aside the rather damaged landscape, dated 1557, in the possession of Mr. Stuyck del Bruyère, now on loan to the National Gallery in Washington, his development as a painter can only be followed from 1559 on, the year when the Vienna *Carnival* was painted. It is therefore difficult to decide if the Bosch-like manner, so characteristic of the Boston *Carnival*, was practiced by Bruegel before he painted the Vienna picture, with which, besides the identical subject matter, it has very little in common.

Walls of exactly the same surface appearance and texture as the background of the Boston panel occur also in *The Purification of the Temple* in Copenhagen, which is generally acceptable as an early work of c.1557 and whose figures are particularly derivative from Bosch. But *The Fall of the Angels* of 1562 in Brussels, *The Triumph of Death* in the Prado, and *The Dulle Griet (The Mad Meg)* in Antwerp which has the false date MDLXIV, interpreted as 1562 or 1564, show clearly that the Bosch-like manner still continued in Bruegel's work. It is especially the modeling of the faces, the treatment of the eyes, the

structure of the body, and the peculiar mixture of nervous sketchiness and bold solidity that relate the Boston *Carnival* to the latter.

A LANDSCAPE BY RICHARD WILSON

From an article by Patrick Joseph Kelleher in the January, 1951, *Gallery Notes* of the Albright Art Gallery.

To the distinguished group of eighteenth century English portraits and figure pieces acquired from the J. Pierpont Morgan collection in 1945 the Gallery has recently added a notable landscape by Richard Wilson, founder, with Robert Cozens, of the classical landscape tradition in English painting. Untitled beyond the generic designation *Landscape*, the painting was formerly in the collections of William Garnett, Quernmore Park, Lancaster, and Mrs. E. F. Price, Portchester, New York.

Wilson's importance as an innovator in the field of landscape painting in England has long been recognized, but he has received less attention from critics and writers on British art for his great abilities as a painter than any other major artist of eighteenth century England. The reasons have been somewhat understandable.

Writers have hesitated to undertake the task of establishing a critical and legitimate estimate of Wilson's work because of numerous basic problems. In the first place much of the painter's best work can be seen only in private collections in England. His style, once established after his return from Italy, about 1756, underwent little change during his lifetime and seldom sought daring new directions in its iconographic schemes. Since many of his best pictures are unsigned and undated, the difficulty of establishing a valid chronology for his work as a whole

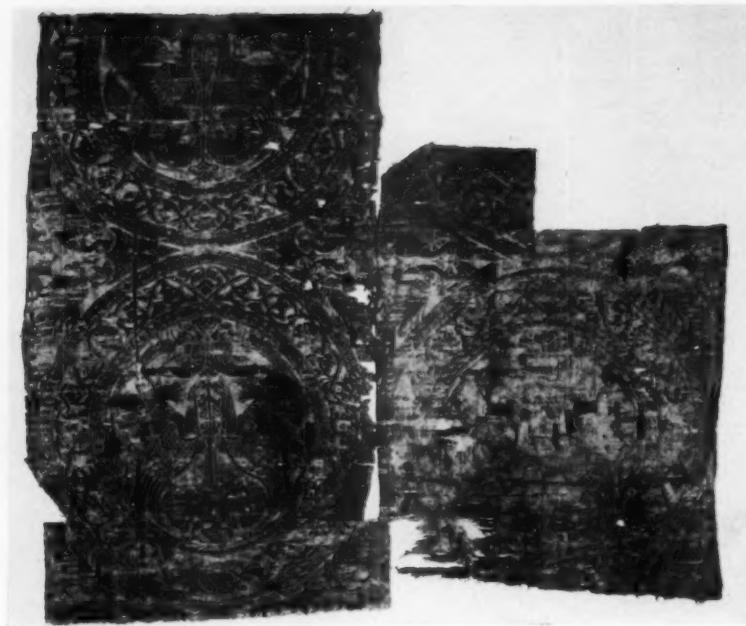


View of Pirna, with the Fortress of Sonnenschein by Bernardo Belotto, called Canaletto
From collection of William 7th Earl Beauchamp of Halkin House

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Hispano-Islamic Silk, first half XII Century (H. 21 1/4"; W. 25 1/4")
Cleveland Museum of Art



Limoges, XIII Century, Baptism of Christ
(H. 14 1/2")
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

is also increased. The problem is further complicated by the repetitions made by the painter of his more successful pictures, and even more so by the copies or unhappy versions done in his manner by his followers and imitators which still pass under his name.

Recently, however, a serious attempt was made to reappraise Wilson's painting by collecting the best of his production and presenting it in relationship to his circle and in its historical context. This occurred in an exhibition organized by the City Museum and Art Gallery of Birmingham and shown at the Tate Gallery in 1949. Here Wilson emerged as a significant painter as well as an important innovator. What is still badly needed, however, is a sound critical study of Wilson's œuvre as a whole which will enable segregation of copies from his primary compositions and eliminate the vapid imitations by his followers which have done so much to minimize his reputation.

Richard Wilson was born in Penegoes, Montgomeryshire, in 1714. He was sent to London at the age of fifteen to study portraiture under Thomas Wright, a minor painter of the period. Wilson was moderately successful as a portraitist, counting among his sitters the young Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, but his interest in landscape early became apparent. In 1750 he went to Venice and met Zuccarelli who admired his work and is said to have persuaded him to abandon portraiture altogether in favor of landscape painting. During his six years in Italy, Wilson fell completely under the spell of Italian landscape and the paintings of Claude and Gaspard Poussin. While there he did many landscapes and drawings and filled his mind with Italian themes which he was to employ for the rest of his life. He returned to London about 1756. Though he exhibited regularly at the Academy until 1779 and found a few enthusiastic admirers, his remaining years were ones of disappointment, neglect and increasing poverty until his death in 1782.

Wilson was a painter outside the taste of his time. His landscapes were unfashionable and found little favor with his contemporaries whose taste ran to portraits and figure painting in the Grand Manner. When the British collector of the eighteenth century did acquire landscapes, he showed little interest in the rising tradition being initiated at home by Wilson, Robert Cozens and their followers but preferred rather to acquire among older masters the classical landscapes of Claude and Poussin, the more romantic pictures of Gaspard Poussin and Salvator Rosa, together with the more naturalistic paintings of Cuyp, Hobbema and Ruysdael. When he commissioned landscape painting, he chose to patronize, in general, foreign artists living in London.

It is to the credit of Wilson and his followers, however, that no compromise was made with the existing taste of their time and that they persisted in painting landscapes in spite of few commissions. Wilson's singleness of purpose in spite of neglect did much to establish and develop the great tradition of landscape painting in England. It would have been satisfying had he known that Constable and Turner were among his later admirers and fully appreciated his great contribution.

The Gallery's *Landscape* must be counted among Wilson's primary works for its extraordinary treatment of light, air, space and color. A smaller, faithful version of the same composition (which bears all the earmarks of being a copy by an imitator rather than a repetition by Wilson himself on the basis of the photograph) was sold with the collection of George G. Benjamin in New York in 1913. Here the landscape is entitled "Italy" but the Gothic ruins in the right foreground cast some



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doubt on the complete accuracy of the title. It is true that the terrain is more Italian than English or Wilson's native Wales. The great, slightly-wooded mountain rises abruptly from the flat plain in the Italian fashion. The castle on its summit is more reminiscent of the massive Spanish fortifications near Orbetello north of Rome than of English castles. The far distant landscape on the extreme right of the picture suggests the Roman Campagna or the Tuscan plains which lie at the foot of hilltowns. However, the Gothic ruins and the trees, so different from the classical ruins, the olives, pines or cypresses expected generally in Wilson's Italian landscapes, recall England. The figures do little to help localize the picture, for Wilson commonly used similar types in both his Italian and English paintings. Comparably draped peasant women also appear in several Gainsborough landscapes which owe slight debt to Italy. One must conclude, therefore, that the Gallery's picture represents a *mélange* of elements, some English, some Italian. As such, the picture must be dated in Wilson's mature period sometime after his return from Italy about 1756. It must, too, have been painted sufficiently long enough after 1756 for his vivid Italian impressions to mellow and merge with those of English landscape.

The iconographic scheme of the picture is one found repeatedly in Wilson's painting; clear air and golden light bathing the landscape and leaving it clean and unruffled; castles and ruins emphasizing the permanence of nature and the impermanence of man's work; and man himself, in nature, not personalized, but an accent, one element essential for the total unity. These motives Wilson employed again and again. His best pictures were not heroic or spectacular but they brought new vitality to English painting and led to the development of the great national tradition of landscape painting in England.

"PORTRAIT OF COMMODORE OLIVER HAZARD PERRY" BY JOHN WESLEY JARVIS

From an article by E. P. Richardson in the *Bulletin* of the Detroit Institute of Arts, volume XXX, No. 4, 1950-51.

In the days when the Great Lakes waterway was the one essential highway of the northwest, Oliver Hazard Perry, in a singularly gallant naval action, won control of the waterway for the United States and determined that Detroit should be an American city. A fine portrait of Perry by John Wesley Jarvis has recently been presented to the Museum by Mr. Dexter M. Ferry, Jr. for the collection of the arts of early Detroit.

In few naval actions, according to Admiral Mahan, has the personality of the commander counted for so much as in the Battle of Lake Erie. The same might be said of the whole campaign. Perry was ordered to Lake Erie on February 17, 1813. Traveling across New England and New York state chiefly by sleigh, he reached Erie on March 27. There he found Noah Brown, a skilled New York shipbuilder, and Sailing Master Dobbins awaiting the arrival of fifty carpenters from Philadelphia, who were more than five weeks in making the wintry journey. There was at this time no American naval force on the lake. The control of the upper lakes was held by a British fleet commanded by Commander Robert Heriot Barclay, a veteran of Trafalgar. So long as this fleet dominated Lake Erie, General Harrison's army could advance no further toward Detroit than Seneca-town, thirty miles south of Sandusky. The keels of two 20-ton brigs and three gun boats had been laid before Perry's arrival; but timber to complete the ships had still to be cut from the virgin forest and all the materials to complete them found in country that was still a wilderness.

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When the fleet was built, sailors had still to be found. The task of creating a force of ten vessels, and training a force of five hundred landsmen and sailors (many of whom had never seen salt water) to work and fight the ships, can hardly be imagined.

In August, 1813, Perry's ships were ready for operations. By heroic efforts he got them across the bar at Presque Isle during a brief absence of the blockading British squadron and sailed up the lake to make contact with Harrison's army. He set up headquarters at Put-in-Bay. When Harrison came to visit the fleet, he observed that Perry's ships were undermanned, and after his return to the army called for volunteers. Perry's fleet thus acquired nearly a hundred Kentucky riflemen in fringed shirts and leggings, not one of whom had ever been on a ship of any kind; but their marksmanship and fighting spirit made them some of his most valuable men.

Barclay's fleet sailed out from Amherstburg to meet Perry on September 10, 1813. The naval action that day resulted in the defeat and capture of an entire British fleet, an event without precedent. A victory so decisive, Perry's gallantry in transferring from the sinking *Lawrence* to the *Niagara* during the action, his laconic dispatch announcing his victory to General Harrison, beginning "We have met the enemy and they are ours," made of him a national hero. After the victory Perry cooperated with Harrison in the rest of the campaign, helping to take possession of Detroit, transporting troops across the lake to the mouth of the Thames, and fighting at the Battle of the Thames as aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief. His victory, it can be said, led progressively to the recapture of Detroit, the end of the great Indian confederacy led by Tecumseh, and the overthrow of British power west of Niagara. The American negotiators at Ghent were able to make good their claims to the Old Northwest and Detroit came at last firmly within the territory of the United States.

As a reward for his part in the campaign, Congress voted to Perry its thanks, a medal and the rank of Captain. The cities of Boston and Newport gave him a service of plate. The city of New York gave him an official reception and commissioned John Wesley Jarvis to paint his portrait, with those of other military and naval heroes, to decorate its city hall. This picture, Jarvis' most ambitious work, represents Perry in a small boat in the act of transferring his flag from the *Lawrence* to the *Niagara*. Jarvis also made a number of bust portraits, one of which is now in the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, a second in private possession in New York City. The third portrait, which has now come to Detroit, was unknown to Harold E. Dickson when he published his excellent biography of Jarvis in 1949. So far as our information goes, the portrait is said to have come from the Rodgers family of Washington, D. C. Captain John Rodgers (1771-1838) was Perry's commanding officer in Tripoli and a lifelong friend. A family document headed "List of Distribution of Furniture" and dated "June, 1859," which has come down with the portrait, refers to a "portrait of Uncle Oliver" which fell to the share of "John"—presumably the celebrated Admiral John Rodgers (1812-1882) of Civil War fame, afterwards superintendent of the United States Naval Observatory, during whose administration the moons of Mars were discovered by Professor Asaph Rogers.

Perry is described as a man of calm unemotional nature (perhaps this came from his Quaker ancestry), considerate of his men and greatly liked and admired by them. A description of him written on the day he returned to his home at Newport after the Battle of Lake Erie, says: "He is a man of lofty stature, strongly built, with dark eyes, an irresistible smile, and an air of freshness, health, and contentment." So he appears in this portrait.



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A HISPANO-ISLAMIC SILK FROM THE TOMB OF SAINT BERNARD CALVO

From an article by Dorothy G. Shepherd in the April, 1951, *Bulletin* of the Cleveland Museum of Art.

In the March issue of the *Bulletin* we illustrated and discussed an important twelfth century Hispano-Islamic textile which came from the tomb of Saint Bernard Calvo, Bishop of Vich, who died in 1243. The vestments in which the Bishop's body was found wrapped comprised three distinct fabrics. Illustrated here is the second of these fabrics which the Museum has purchased through the J. H. Wade Fund.

The Museum's two newly acquired textiles are so identical in technique and color and in the general character of the design that after studying them together one cannot but be convinced that they were made in the same workshop, indeed, most probably by the same hand. The date of this second textile, then, must be, like that of the other, from the first half of the twelfth century.

In this second fabric the design shows the same reliance on Oriental motifs as does the "lion-strangler" of the first. These fantastic, sphinx-like beasts have the same deep roots in the Near East. They are found, together with the lion-strangler motif, in Achaemenid times and even earlier, and were likewise brought into Spain by the Arabs who had taken over the artistic heritage of the East and in turn spread it wherever they went. The elaborate foliate motif in the interstices of the lion-strangler fabric has here been replaced by two pairs of peacocks either side of a tree, the latter carefully preserving the same foliate form; and the central star-shaped device is also present. This motif of pairs of peacocks is a familiar one in Hispano-Islamic art, especially on the carved ivory boxes of the period of the Omayyad Caliphs. The little lions which attack the flanks of the sphinxes also have their counterpart in several other examples of Hispano-Islamic art, and are found with surprisingly similar treatment on a carved ivory box in the Burgos Museum. The arabesque ornament filling the roundel frame shows a close relationship to the carved stone ornament found in the Mosque at Cordoba and at Medina Az-Zahra; the same motif continues in use throughout the Islamic art of Spain. Although several fragments of this textile are preserved, none shows a trace of the horizontal inscription band which characterizes the lion-strangler silk and others of the same group, but as these bands generally occur at rather wide intervals, it is by no means certain that this fabric may not originally have had such an inscription band.

A MASTERPIECE OF LIMOGES

From an article by Georg Swarzenski in the February, 1951, *Bulletin* of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

The museum has recently purchased an outstanding relief in gilded copper with champlevé enamel representing the *Baptism of Christ*. Both style and medium and the unmistakable type of the object reveal its origin in Limoges sometime during the thirteenth century. It is in fact one of the finest creations of this school and, beyond the technical accomplishment, a masterpiece of French art in this great period.

The *Baptism of Christ* is an applied relief: the composition complete as an elaborate group although a background, necessarily to be supposed, is missing. Apparently the object was a prominent part of a complex ecclesiastical work lost today, and the subject matter suggests that our relief together with some

matching pieces belonged to a cycle from the Life of Christ or perhaps of John the Baptist. Representation of the Baptism alone does not occur at this period. Viewing the group in such imaginative connection stresses the absolute merit of the composition which in its present isolation, bare of ornamental framework and the decorative effect of surrounding elements, captivates one immediately by unusual strength, sensibility and clarity. None of the great complex Limoges works has survived of which a relief like this might have been a significant part, but their type can be reconstructed vaguely by analogies. A series of plastic representations of narrative subjects in proportionally small dimensions but culminating in the entire arrangement is an impressive feature of many works of contemporary ecclesiastical art found in stone sculpture, wood-carving and metal. Among the regular types our relief would best fit, I think, a retable or a large shrine but is conceivable also in a more intimate work of devotional luxury such as a house altar or a reliquary. Yet the analogies would point only at the decorative arrangement, and more important is the realization of the individuality of such Limoges work in its relation to the sculptural attempts in fine metalwork of other schools. They are, in fact, as different as can be. Despite the common tendencies, here is the unmistakable character of Limoges essentially bound to the specific medium: the concentrated and intensified plastic effect of gilded copper. Its solid corporeal weight, its broad homogeneous shiny surface, engendered here a particular consistency and unity of form, embracing the details of modeling, engraving and chiseling, and the articulated silhouettes. In happy moments, as in our group, the spirit of the artistic conception is fundamentally congenial with the proper mood of the materialization. The finest masterpieces of Limoges sculpture are distinguished by unparalleled qualities, and among these masterpieces our

relief is especially marked by its approach to a monumental style, surpassing the efforts of goldsmiths' sculpture elsewhere.

The execution is in accord with the customary technical methods of Limoges, but exceptional for artistic refinement. Limoges had developed the relation between *champlevé* and gilt copper in various yet definitely established ways. In the usual works the enamel either forms the contrasting ornamental background or adds color to certain details. In our relief it is a coherent and effective part of the composition itself and deliberately confined to illustrate the water as opposed to the figures. The representation of water is necessitated by the subject matter, but this limitation of the *champlevé* produces here an elaborate artistic effect different from the traditional ornamental application of the medium. Running down from Christ's head two narrow strips of enamel frame and emphasize the visible part of the figure while below the enamel in the rising "mountain" of the Jordan heightens and enlarges the weight of His corporeal representation. The novel artistic effect of the *champlevé* in a strictly reserved yet by no means subordinate or ornamental area corresponds with the choice restraint of its color. It is a carefully graduated monochrome of warm opaque grayish-white. The concentration on this one color, in admirable harmony with the gold, in perfect unity with the plastic conception, contributes greatly to the dignity and nobility of the work; and the river Jordan with the gilded curved lines of the waves and the engraved fishes on the whitish enamel is an unforgettable demonstration of unique taste. For the rest, enamel reappears only in the dark blue drops accentuating the eyes. This belongs to the canonic routine of Limoges but even so differs from the arbitrary enrichment by added precious or semi-precious stones or colored glass which lend to many works of typical Limoges copper sculpture the effect of tawdry idols.

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One wonders how in an exceptional work like this the subject matter mirrors a specific iconographic tradition. The Baptism was a familiar subject of Christian art through the ages everywhere, but in the rich repertory of Limoges work this is the only known example. No work is known which can be claimed directly as the model; but definable are the substantial components which positively form the backbone of the representation in our relief. This is strictly built up on a few iconographic elements and one can hardly imagine a more lucid and conclusive conception. There are many varieties and contrasts in contemporary illustrations of the Baptism and in fact none of the basic motives depicted in our relief is a matter of invention or artistic individuality; but their display in the same selective grouping is apparently very rare and has a bearing on the singular character of the entire achievement.

There is today a general tendency to assume a relatively late date of origin for any Limoges work and this is justified by the notorious perseverance of the local tradition. Yet the creative works which essentially add new conceptions in a different spirit indicate other aspects. Reliefs like our *Baptism* have been attributed by critics summarily often to the second half of the thirteenth century, but their advanced character in Limoges is rather due to the effort of a progressive master, or to an *atelier innovateur*, than to a belated one and points, in agreement with the general development, to the second quarter of the century.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN THE FIELD OF ART

WALTER W. S. COOK and JOSÉ GUDIOL RICART, *Pintura e imaginería románicas. Ars Hispaniae*, volume VI, Madrid, 1950, 406 pp., 444 illus. Reviewed by Harold E. Wethey, University of Michigan.

This volume is a handsome handbook which will appeal to anyone interested in medieval art. Lavish in number and first rate in quality, the photographs of Spanish Romanesque painting provide a mine of valuable material. In the introduction the authors give a summary of the stylistic trends in Spain throughout the period and discuss matters of technique. Thereafter Romanesque murals are studied by provinces with attention to stylistic groups and to the work of recognizable masters. Catalonia naturally receives the major share of attention because the bulk of preserved works lie in the region of the Pyrenees in that province. As for Castile, particularly interesting is the section devoted to the magnificent cycle of frescoes in the Pantheon of the Kings at Leon. The authors propose a date *circa* 1250 for the decorations of the chapter house of Sigüenza, and they suggest that the kings of Aragon imported a Roman painter to execute them.

The second section is concerned with panel painting which consists in the main of altar frontalts. Here the material receives detailed archaeological treatment with attention to problems of iconography, style and dating. In the final portion on Romanesque images, the authors have brought together little-known sculptures of the Madonna and Child, the crucifix, and other cult figures, most of them in wood. Architectural sculptures have been included in other volumes of the same series. The usefulness of this book is furthered by the inclusion of a good bibliography and excellent indices. In summary, volume VI of *Arts Hispaniae* is a model handbook, both for the outstanding quality of the illustrations and scholarly precision of the text.

Harold E. WETHEY, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture of Peru*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1949. 330 pp., 366 illus. \$12.50. Reviewed by E. P. Richardson.

This is the first general survey of the colonial architecture and sculpture of Peru and as such, adds an interesting new chapter to the history of Western art. Peru was at one time the richest vice-royalty of Spanish America. The Spanish Crown and the ruling classes of the colony put a great part of its fabulous wealth into the building and embellishment of churches and monasteries. Even after centuries of destructive earthquakes Peru possesses a school of colonial architecture and decorative sculpture which in quantity and quality is rivaled only by that of Mexico.

As elsewhere in Hispanic America colonial art was formed from the union of Spanish and Indian. The builders, the sculptors, even some of the architects, were Indians, artists of the blood of the most gifted Indian races of the New World. For three centuries the best creative energies of the colony went into the production of its ecclesiastical architecture and sculpture. Some Peruvian colonial architecture and sculpture was a fresh regional school of the transplanted Spanish idiom of Andalusia. Some was what Mr. Wethey calls the *mestizo* style whose "distinguishing and flavorsome qualities were those of the Indians' heritage."

The present reviewer has no first-hand knowledge of Peru and read the book merely to gain a glimpse into an unknown but interesting field. His opinion, for whatever such a general

opinion may be worth, is that Professor Wethey has proved that this is important material. Some of the monuments of Peru, both in Spanish and *mestizo* style, are works of fine quality judged by the standards of any school. Peruvian colonial art, as a whole, is an interesting and significant regional branch of the great art of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of our world. So much this book establishes convincingly. For giving us the first general survey of a new province of Western art, Mr. Wethey deserves our gratitude and our congratulations.

His survey has a lucid intellectual order that is the quality most needed to give form to a chaos of unfamiliar material. But he shows that he feels his material as well as analyzes it. He writes with an admirable clarity, in a severely economical style, but not without a sensitive expression of the poetry of his material. This comes out briefly, when called for, in some phrase of sober eloquence setting off the severe plainness of his narrative style, as when he says, speaking of some modest structures of the first half of the seventeenth century that they "have the direct earnest appeal of the utilitarian handiwork of the pioneer." That is very well expressed: it puts into words what we have all felt in the presence of some humble but memorable pioneer work.

In Mr. Wethey's opinion the most original creation of the Hispanic colonial culture is *mestizo* art, a term he prefers to the more commonly used *creole* art, since it is, as he says, truly the product of the cross breeding of two races. The *mestizo* style is found chiefly in remote Andean regions where the architects and sculptors were pure Indians or else *mestizos* who had only a superficial contact with the European civilization. The forms of this style are European, almost without exception. "The natural primitivism of the design and technique, however," says Mr. Wethey, "is the most significant and determinative factor." The strange, smoky flavor of the resultant hybrid is very pleasing.

This book would be a godsend to the intelligent traveler in Peru. For the general reader it is a stimulating view of an unexplored province of our art. It is written with intellectual qualities and a style that inspire confidence in the authority of the author's judgment.

MARIUS BARBEAU, *Totem Poles*, volume I: *Totem Poles according to crests and types*. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, Bulletin No. 119, 434 pp., 186 illus. \$2.50.

The totem poles of the Indians of the Northwest Coast are known all over the world and rank among the most remarkable achievements of aboriginal art. Impressive in scale, design and craftsmanship, they are the work of Indian artists notable for their sense of style and for their powers of imagination. Immediately interesting and arresting to the eye as examples of sculpture, totem poles represent a wild, rich, poetic mythology which requires a commentary to enable one to appreciate their full significance.

Yet if one looks for books about this art, one finds very little. This authoritative and comprehensive work by the great Canadian expert on the Northwest Coast Indians will therefore fill a great need. The author's aim is to include in it "all the totem poles, houseposts and frontalts, and the stately grave pillars of British Columbia and Alaska . . . as far as the author knows," with the exception of the important group at Gitksan on the upper Skeena River, British Columbia, which he published in an earlier Bulletin (No. 61, 1929). This work on totem poles

will be followed by one on the Haida Argillite carvings to complete the survey of Northwest Coast sculpture.

The plan of this volume is a short introduction of 15 pages on the origin, history and character of totem poles, followed by a very full description of their legendary and poetic subject matter. It exhibits the author's qualities—his originality and independence of mind; his intimate acquaintance with the Indians, and diligence in collecting both the tradition of the totem carvers and the mythology as it lives still among the immediate descendants; the skill as folklorist; the deep interest in comparative mythology; the lively poetic sensibility; the rich ethnological experience. One looks forward with anticipation to the completion of this important work.

Illustrations of Selected Works of Art. San Francisco, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, 1950. 157 pp.

Although the De Young Museum does not aim at an encyclopedic completeness in its art collections, as its director warns us in the preface of this book, it contains a surprising variety of distinguished works in a great number of fields. This picture book is a handsome celebration and useful cross section of a collection which constantly surprises one who turns these pages. This is an urbane and cosmopolitan collection—which contains not only a great El Greco and Rubens, but exceptional examples of Barent Fabritius and Eeckhout, Juan de Flanders and Balthasar Denner, and well chosen American romantic paintings.

The sculpture, furniture, objets d'art, and the collections of the Far East and of Oceania offer their own surprises. This collection is obviously a product of knowledge and culture rather than of fashionable collecting.

ELIZABETH McCUSAULD, *Careers in the Arts.* With introduction by Henry R. Hope, Chairman, Fine Arts Department, Indiana University, and Charles T. Coiner, Vice President-Art Director, N. W. Ayer & Son, New York, the John Day Company, 1950. 278 pp. \$3.75.

Miss McCausland's interest in the economic problems of the American artist is a thing of long standing. In this book she has investigated with her customary vigor and good sense the entire field of the arts, fine and applied, and discusses them as opportunities for a livelihood. Her survey covers: (1) the fine arts: architecture; painting (easel, mural, portrait); sculpture; graphic art; teaching; (2) the applied arts: advertising; illustration; printing art; textile design; poster art; photography; cartooning; industrial design; interior design and decoration; costume design; shop design; ceramics; display; jewelry. A final chapter on education for the arts is worth reading in itself as a wise and realistic comment on the artist as a human being in human society. An appendix gives a list of art schools and colleges in the United States. A book intended for art students and educators, but interesting in its implications for other readers.



